**Table of Contents**

[1AC’s 2](#_Toc392122676)

[Zong Aff 3](#_Toc392122677)

[Fem Aff 9](#_Toc392122678)

[K version 15](#_Toc392122679)

[Observation One is the the Middle Passage 16](#_Toc392122680)

[Observation Two is the Final Chapter 18](#_Toc392122681)

[2AC 23](#_Toc392122682)

[Middle passage key 24](#_Toc392122683)

[Law Bad 30](#_Toc392122684)

[Capitalism 32](#_Toc392122685)

[Scriptocentrism 35](#_Toc392122686)

[Anthro 38](#_Toc392122687)

[Eco Feminism 41](#_Toc392122688)

[Feminism 44](#_Toc392122689)

[Framework 46](#_Toc392122690)

# Middle Passage Aff & Neg – CNDI 2014

## Zong Aff

#### Resolved: The USFG should substantially increase its non-military exploration and/or development of the Earth’s oceans.

#### Let’s be honest here. Unless you’re living on a sailboat and seeing the ocean every day, it’s pretty hard to get used to the ocean. We miss seeing everything the ocean can offer us. We can’t look out a window daily and get used to it. When you see the ocean only occasionally, its value and importance seems infinite. Not by way of space for development or resources, though. Maybe it’s different for people that often experience and explore the ocean, but I can’t imagine being forced to talk about using it that way. No, it offers us so much more than power or minerals as a means to an end. Instead of limiting our thinking about OTEC or oil extraction, this topic deserves a greater discussion. The history of the ocean far supersedes the value of getting some than oil or wave power. The ocean centralizes history and shows all that has happened in the world even through it represents both fluidity and constancy. It has been the birthplace of key achievements and downfalls dotting the landscape of our past. The stories and secrets it holds are as vast and deep and undiscovered as the ocean itself. We focus only on the future of what can be done to change the ocean, as we know it. But the exploration of the ocean through the reimagining of these histories offers the potential to learn and do so much more than the traditional exploration would.

#### Resolved: The USFG should substantially increase its metaphysical exploration of the Earth’s oceans.

#### The most prevalent and pressing timeframe that deserves our oceanic exploration is the Middle Passage. The Middle Passage was not only a time of in-betweenness, a journey of distance, of travelling ninety days from the west coast of Africa to America but rather a mental journey that of which stripped Africans from their culture from their heritage from their families and homelands and their stories. The Middle Passage was more than just a path in history, it was a crucial turning point for the way human imagination viewed Africans. These Africans were transformed into blacks over the course of this journey, a term analogous with the uncivil, the savage, and the anti-human. They were boxed in compacted areas of ships and treated as a fungible commodity, stripped of their heritage, of their names, of their families, of their identity. Entire cultures were lost and can never be rediscovered. They were forced to suffer not only natal alienation but abuse in ways unimaginable and unwarranted on these ships. The gratuitous violence that began against black bodies in the Middle Passage distinguished this suffering from all prior forms of enslavement. The Middle Passage started the unending, unwarranted violence on black bodies that is perpetuated through every succeeding generation. The Middle Passage promoted the idea that Blacks were a separate species from humanity. The Middle Passage caused the social death of Black bodies. Humanity’s civil society is wholly dependent through denial of humanity of the black.

Wilderson 10’

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 19-21, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

During the emergence of new ontological relations in the modern world, from the late Middle Ages through the 1500s, many different kinds of people experienced slavery. In other words, there have been times when **natal alienation, general dishonor, and gratuitous violence have turned**¶ 18 INTRODUCTION¶ **individuals** of myriad ethnicities and races **into beings who are socially dead**. But African, or more precisely **Blackness, refers to an individual who is by definition** always already **void of relationality**. Thus **modernity marks** the emergence of **a new ontology** because it is **an era in which an entire race appears,** people who, a priori, that is prior to the contingency of the "transgressive act" (such as losing a war or being convicted of a crime), stand **as socially dead in relation to the rest of the world**. **This**, I will argue, **is** as true **for those who were herded onto the slave ships** as it is for those who had no knowledge whatsoever of the coffles. In this period, chattel slavery, as a condition of ontology and not just as an event of experience, stuck to the African like Velcro. To the extent that we can think the essence of Whiteness and the essence of Blackness, we must think their essences through the structure of the Master/Slave relation. It should be clear by now that I am not only drawing a distinction between what is commonly thought of as the Master/Slave relation and the constituent elements of the Master/Slave relation,26 but I am also drawing a distinction between the experience of slavery (which anyone can be subjected to) and the ontology of slavery, which in modernity (the years 1300 to the present) becomes the singular purview of the Black. In this period, slavery is cathedralized. It "advances" from a word which describes a condition that anyone can be subjected to, to a word which reconfigures the African body into Black flesh. Far from being merely the experience of the African, slavery is now the Africans access to (or, more correctly, banishment from) ontology.¶ In their own ways, Spillers, a Black woman and cultural historian, and Eltis, a White historian of the transatlantic slave trade, make the similar points. First, they claim that the pre-Columbian period, or the late Middle Ages (1300-1500), was a moment in which Europe, the Arab world, and Asia found themselves at an ontological crossroads in society's ability to meditate on its own existence. Second, Spillers and Eltis ask whether the poor, convicts, vagrants, and beggars of any given society (French, German, Dutch, Arab, East Asian) should be condemned to a life of natal alienation. Should they have social death forced on them in lieu of real death (i.e., executions)? Should this form of chattel slavery be imposed on the internal poor, en masse—that is, should the scale of White slavery (to the extent that any one nation carried it out at all) become industrial?¶ INTRODUCTION 19¶ And, most important, should the progeny of the White slave be enslaved as well?¶ It took some time for this argument to unfold. Eltis suggests the argument ensued—depending on the country—from 1200 to the mid-i4oos (1413-23), and that, whereas it was easily and forthrightly settled in places like England and the Netherlands, in other countries like Portugal, parts of southern France, and parts of the Arab world, the question waxed and waned.¶ Again, what is important for us to glean from these historians is that the pre-Columbian period, the late Middle Ages, reveals no archive of debate on these three questions as they might be related to that massive group of black-skinned people south of the Sahara. Eltis suggests that there was indeed massive debate which ultimately led to Britain taking the lead in the abolition of slavery, but he reminds us that that debate did not have its roots in the late Middle Ages, the post-Columbian period of the 1500s or the Virginia colony period of the 1600s. It was, he asserts, an outgrowth of the mid- to late eighteenth-century emancipatory thrust— intra-Human disputes such as the French and American revolutions— that swept through Europe. But Eltis does not take his analysis further than this. Therefore, it is important that we not be swayed by his optimism about the Enlightenment and its subsequent abolitionist discourses. It is highly conceivable that **the discourse that elaborates the justification for freeing the slave is not the product of the Human being having suddenly and miraculously recognized the slave. Rather**, as Saidiya Hartman argues, **emancipatory discourses present themselves to us as further evidence of the Slave's fungibility**: "The figurative capacities of blackness enable white flights of fancy while increasing the likelihood of the captive's disappearance."27 First, the questions of Humanism were elaborated in contradistinction to the human void, to the African qua chattel (the 1200s to the end of the 1600s). Second, as the presence of Black chattel in the midst of exploited and unexploited Humans (workers and bosses, respectively) became a fact of the world, **exploited Humans** (in the throes of class conflict with unexploited Humans) **seized the image of the Slave as an enabling vehicle that animated the evolving discourses of their own emancipation, just as unexploited Humans had seized the flesh of the Slave to increase their profits**.¶ 20 INTRODUCTION¶ **Without this gratuitous violence**, a violence that marks everyone ex-perientially until the late Middle Ages when it starts to mark the Black onto logically, **the so-called great emancipatory discourses of modernity— Marxism, feminism, postcolonialism, sexual liberation, and the ecology movement—political discourses predicated on grammars of suffering and whose constituent elements are exploitation and alienation, might not have developed.**28 Chattel slavery did not simply reterritorialize the ontology of the African. It also created the Human out of culturally disparate entities from Europe to the East.¶ I am not suggesting that across the globe Humanism developed in the same way regardless of region or culture; what I am saying is that the late Middle Ages gave rise to an ontological category—an ensemble of common existential concerns—which made and continues to make possible both war and peace, conflict and resolution, between the disparate members of the human race, East and West. Senator Thomas Hart Benton intuited this notion of the existential commons when he wrote that though the "Yellow race" and its culture had been "torpid and stationary for thousands of years . . . [Whites and Asians] must talk together, and trade together, and marry together. Commerce is a great civilizer—social intercourse as great—and marriage greater."29 Eltis points out that as late as the seventeenth century, "prisoners taken in the course of European military action... could expect death if they were leaders, or banishment if they were deemed followers, but never enslavement.... Detention followed by prisoner exchanges or ransoming was common." "By the seventeenth century, enslavement of fellow Europeans was beyond the limits" of Humanism's existential commons, even in times of war.30 Slave status "was reserved for non-Christians. Even the latter group however . . . had some prospect of release in exchange for Christians held by rulers of Algiers, Tunis, and other Mediterranean Muslim powers."31 But though the practice of enslaving the vanquished was beyond the limit of wars among Western peoples and only practiced provisionally in East-West conflicts, the baseness of the option was not debated when it came to the African. **The race of Humanism** (White, Asian, South Asian, and Arab) **could not have produced itself without the simultaneous production of** that walking destruction which became known as **the Black**. Put another way, through chattel slavery the world gave birth and coherence to both its joys of domesticity and to its struggles of political discontent; and¶ INTRODUCTION 21¶ with these joys and struggles **the Human was born, but not before it murdered the Black, forging a symbiosis between the political ontology of Humanity and the social death of Blacks.**

#### The Middle Passage was not only a time of in-betweenness for the Blacks in the sense that they were in-between their homeland and an entirely new country, but in-betweenness in the sense that they were no longer considered human, but were not yet considered cargo. Once the Black body finished the middle passage, it was no longer a Black body but rather Black flesh. The Middle Passage was what began to change society’s perception of Blacks in contrast to what the human imagination sees as a civil society. Without the Black body being denied of its humanness, humanity’s ideal civil society would not be able to stand. The Africans embarked fearing death and, because of these indefensible atrocities, came to desire it. We need to dive deeper into the Middle Passage to trace where the human ideology concerning not solely the Black body and the commoditization of it, but also the ideology of our idyllic civil society. Without the Middle Passage, we would have never begun associating the word “Black” with the word “Slave”.

#### Resolved: The USFG should substantially increase its metaphysical exploration of the Earth’s oceans by looking at the Middle Passage.

#### The year is 1781. The slave ship called the Zong has disembarked from the coast of West Africa headed towards Jamaica. It left with nearly 500 Africans on board. Six to nine weeks turns into sixteen. 150 slaves are thrown overboard, justified by the captain and his crew as a way to save resources. It was thought of as an unfortunate but necessary sacrifice of chattel to ensure the lives of the true people on board. This story did not ring true in court. No, the ship was not brought to justice for the gratuitous violence against and murder of Africans. The case document poses an inquiry far from ethical. The captain would be accountable for the natural death of the slaves he was transporting, but throwing them overboard? Now that was deemed insurable. The fear in the civil society cemented the commoditization of Black bodies into cargo, into what was seen as economic return. There was no value attached to their lives apart from the insurance money the ship owners would receive. These people had already been stripped of their names, languages, families, and cultures on the journey across the Atlantic. All we know about the Zong case is wrapped into two neat little pages. Gregson v. Gilbert documented this atrocity, probing whether or not they would be compensated for the lost cargo. It reads, “This was an action on a policy of insurance, to recover the value of certain slaves thrown overboard for want of water… This… was a throwing overboard of goods…” These people were reduced to goods in the only documentation of the incident. They were denied value by the law, and, even once they were gone, were further dehumanized by the law yet again. The Zong is key in showing how the structure of the law perpetuates the divide between blackness and humanness. The law caused for the stories of the Zong to become trapped. There is no way for that same discourse to open the space to talk about the Zong because it started and continues to further the oppression of the stories. The telling of this story through the calculative factual language of the law contaminates and destroys the story. Law supersedes being and is defined through the creation of that structure built on black antagonism. It becomes the pivotal story that must be told but cannot.

NourbeSe Philip 8 **-**- Canadian poet, novelist, and essayist

(Marlene, Zong!, Wesleyan University Press, p. 198-199, ISBN 978-0-8195-7169-4)

**The story that cannot be told must not-tell itself in a language already contaminated,** possibly irrevocably and fatally. **I resist the seduction of trying to cleanse it through ordering techniques and practices, for the story must tell itself, even if it is a partial story; it must be allowed to be and not be. The half-tellings, and un-tellings force me to enter the zone of contamination to complete it; in so doing I risk being contaminated by the prescribed language of the law—by language in fact.**¶ The basic tool in the study of law is case analysis. This process requires a careful sifting of the reported case to find the kernel of the legal principle at the heart of the decision —the ratio decidendi or simply the ratio. Having isolated that, all other opinion be- comes obiter dicta, informally referred to as dicta. Which is what the Africans on board the Zong become —dicta, footnotes, related to, but not, the ratio.¶ Caledon, Ontario I cannot say when I first conceive the idea but once it has taken hold I know that I must honor it. "Defend the dead." The Africans on board the Zong must be named. They will be ghostly footnotes floating below the text —"underwater ...a place of consequence"¶ Idea at heart of the footnotes in general is acknowledgement—someone else was here before—in Zong! footnote equals the footprint.¶ Footprints of the African on board the Zong.¶ On the "surface" the ratio of Gregson v. Gilbert was that "the evidence [did] not sup- port the statement of the loss made in the declaration;"21 in other-words, **given the evidence presented to the court, the ship's owners had not satisfactorily proved that they needed to "jettison their cargo," that is, murder 150 African slaves.22 The "underwater" ratio appears to be that the law supersedes being, that being is not a constant in time, but can be changed by the law. The ratio at the heart of Zong!, however, is simply the story of be-ing which cannot, but must, be told. Through not-telling.**

#### The aff is a refrain from an attempt to bridge the gaps and assemble the order of the law into something that was destroyed by it at the start. What the law had created it could not undo. The law has denied the Africans who endured the Middle Passage of all being and, by doing so, corrupted and destroyed their stories. We can’t afford to use the same discourse that refused African’s the ontology of humanity, and instead cast them as the antagonism that society is foundationally dependent on. This manifests itself in the continued social death of the black. All that is built within civil society is first predicated on anti-black structure. This is a crushing conclusion. As hard as it is not to fill in the silence, the emptiness of what we do not know, we must accept that space and struggle and fight to keep the law out. We want to tell the story of the Zong, to embody the tragedy and do due justice to the 150 nameless men and women that were lost to the sea, and we must, but at the same time we cannot tell it. We can never let ourselves forget the story, but must let the story come when it is ready.

#### The exploration of the ocean and the Middle Passage is key to understand the current models of society and then have a chance to resist the very structures that not only created this dichotomy, but also armors itself against our very affirmation by delegitimizing the forms that allow the story to tell itself.

#### Resolved: The best way to explore the ocean is through the Middle Passage.

## Fem Aff

#### **Poem-Slave Girl**

My name is Lydia

I’m 19 years old

I loved to sing and dance

I used to think that the moon always

Followed the boat

Like it was watching over me

Like it was protecting me

Until I reached the land

Until I could be free

But,

I never reached the land

I never reached the moon

Instead I hit the cold, ocean water

And I reached the ocean floor

I passed away in the Zong Massacre

November 29th, 1781

My name is Lydia

And my story is yet to be told

My name is Rose

I’m 17 years old

I could hear the uneven syncopation of the hearts around me

But instead of beating life

The hearts beat fear

I have spent countless days below the boat

The sun’s warmth never reached us,

Never reached me

But one day, they forced me above to the deck

I wonder why they chose

Me

Out of all the others

But then I knew

Instantly I was grabbed with multiple hands that weren’t my own

Some hands whipped me, some hands hit me, while the others touched me

Unlike cargo

I was not handled with care

They stripped away my dignity- which was the only part of me that I owned

They decided never to end until

The pain finally took my soul

My name is Rose

And my story is yet to be told

My name is (your name)

I’m (your age) years old

I’m a Debater

Struggling to speak the stories of the female slaves

Struggling to comprehend their language

Struggling to tell the story Venuses

Struggling to tell the story THAT CANNOT BE TOLD

Because they are hidden in the bottom of sea

Because they are blanketed away with patriarchal views

#### “FROM QUEEN LATIFAH’S LADIES FIRST\*

Latifah ’89 **-** American singer, rapper and actress.

**(**QUEEN LATIFAH, The Song: Ladies First,  Published by  
Lyrics © Warner/Chappell Music, Inc., Royalty Network)

The ladies will kick it the rhyme that is wicked Those that don't know how to be pros get evicted A woman can bear you break you take you Now it's time to rhyme can you relate to A sister dope enough to make you holler and scream Ayo let me take it from here Queen excuse me but I think I'm about do To get into precisely what I am about to do I'm conversating to the folks that have no whatsoever clue So listen very carefully as I break it down for you Merrily, merrily, merrily, merrily hyper happy overjoyed Pleased with all the beats and rhymes my sisters have employed Slick and smooth throwing down the sound totally a yes Let me state the position, ladies first, yes? Yes Yeah, there's going to be some changes in here Believe me when I say being a woman is great, you see I know all the fellas out there will agree with me Not for being one but for being with one Because when it's time for loving it's the woman that gets some Strong, stepping, strutting, moving on Rhyming, cutting, and not forgetting We are the ones that give birth To the new generation of prophets because it's ladies first I break into a lyrical freestyle Grab the mic, look into the crowd and see smiles 'Cause they see a woman standing up on her own two Sloppy slouching is something I won't do Some think that we can't flow stereotypes, they got to go I'm a mess around and flip the scene into reverse With what? With a little touch of ladies first Who said the ladies couldn't make it, you must be blind If you don't believe, well here, listen to this rhyme Ladies first, there's no time to rehearse I'm divine and my mind expands throughout the universe A female rapper with the message to send the Queen Latifah is a perfect specimen My sister, can I get some? Sure, Monie Love, grab the mic and get dumb Yo, praise me not for simply being what I am Born in L O N D O N and sound American You dig exactly where I'm coming from You want righteous rhyming, I'm a give you some To enable you to aid yourself and get paid And the material that has no meaning I wish to slay Pay me every bit of your attention Like mother, like daughter, I would also like to mention I wish for you to bring me to, bring me to the rhythm Of which is now systematically given Desperately stressing I'm the daughter of a sister Who's the mother of a brother who's the brother of another Plus one more, all four have a job to do, we doing it Respect due, to the mother who's the root of it And next up is me, the M O N I E L O V E And I'm first cause I'm a L A D I E Contact and in fact, the style, it gets harder Cooling on the scene with my European partner Laying down track after track, waiting for the climax When I get there, that's when I tax The next man, or the next woman It doesn't make a difference, keep the competition coming And I'll recite the chapter in verse The title of this recital is "Ladies First"

#### “BY PROFORMANING THIS AFFIRMATIVE WE ARE ABLE TO ALLOW THESE STORIES TO FLOW”

#### Telling The Untold Story of the Middle Passage through a Narrative is Key to Embodying these Stories

#### **Hartman ‘08**

(**Saidiya Hartman,** Venus in Two Acts. Pg.1-2)

The intention here isn’t anything as miraculous as recovering the lives of the enslaved or¶ redeeming the dead, but rather laboring to paint as full a picture of the lives of the captives¶ as possible. This double gesture can be described as straining against the limits of the archive¶ to write a cultural history of the captive, and, at the same time, enacting the impossibility of¶ representing the lives of the captives precisely through the process of narration.¶ The method guiding this writing practice is best described as critical fabulation. “Fabula”¶ denotes the basic elements of story, the building blocks of the narrative. A fabula, according¶ to Mieke Bal, is “a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused and¶ experienced by actors. An event is a transition from one state to another. Actors are agents¶ that perform actions. (They are not necessarily human.) To act is to cause or experience and¶ event.”35¶ By playing with and rearranging the basic elements of the story, by re-presenting the¶ sequence of events in divergent stories and from contested points of view, I have attempted¶ to jeopardize the status of the event, to displace the received or authorized account, and to¶ imagine what might have happened or might have been said or might have been done. By¶ throwing into crisis “what happened when” and by exploiting the “transparency of sources” as¶ fictions of history, I wanted to make visible the production of disposable lives (in the Atlantic¶ slave trade and, as well, in the discipline of history), to describe “the resistance of the object,”¶ if only by first imagining it, and to listen for the mutters and oaths and cries of the commodity.¶ By flattening the levels of narrative discourse and confusing narrator and speakers, I hoped to¶ illuminate the contested character of history, narrative, event, and fact, to topple the hierarchy¶ of discourse, and to engulf authorized speech in the clash of voices. The outcome of this¶ method is a “recombinant narrative,” which “loops the strands” of incommensurate accounts¶ and which weaves present, past, and future in retelling the girl’s story and in narrating the¶ time of slavery as our present.37¶ Narrative restraint, the refusal to fill in the gaps and provide closure, is a requirement¶ of this method, as is the imperative to respect black noise—the shrieks, the moans, the nonsense,¶ and the opacity, which are always in excess of legibility and of the law and which hint¶ at and embody aspirations that are wildly utopian, derelict to capitalism, and antithetical to¶ its attendant discourse of Man.38¶ The intent of this practice is not to give voice to the slave, but rather to imagine what¶ cannot be verified, a realm of experience which is situated between two zones of death—social¶ and corporeal death—and to reckon with the precarious lives which are visible only in the¶ moment of their disappearance. It is an impossible writing which attempts to say that which¶ resists being said (since dead girls are unable to speak). It is a history of an unrecoverable past;¶ it is a narrative of what might have been or could have been; it is a history written with and¶ against the archive.

#### Reviewing the Historiography of the Middle Passage Solves for Understanding These Stories

Saunders ’08 – licensed Clinical Psychologist

(Patricia Saunders. Defending the Dead, Confronting¶ the Archive.PG.68)

That is a poignant connection. It reminds me of Saidiya Hartman’s assertion that the value¶ of wrestling with the archive is about “illuminating the way in which our age is tethered” to¶ those of the slaves buried in the archives in the “as-yet-incomplete project of freedom.”9 And¶ drawing these connections is another way of engaging the archive differently, not necessarily¶ to make meaning of slavery but to engage the meaning of our present moment. *Lose Your¶ Mother* considers the problematic of encountering what you have just described as these “fact¶ situations”—she says you have all of this history, all of this knowledge and what does it really¶ amount to? In the presence of all of it you have nothing, no knowledge, and even less understanding.¶ In these instances it’s as if we’ve run up against the limitations of our knowledge¶ in a very real way. Once you meet that limitation, you have a few options. One is that you¶ explode the facts, and that you also explode the archive, really pushing the boundaries of the¶ disciplines, in academia, and certainly of the form of writing that will be used in this “not¶ telling” you are both grappling with. There’s a sense, again, part of the discomfort readers will¶ face, particularly those in history and even literary studies for that matter, is situating this¶ form and its critical approach in relation to what has gone before it.

#### The Middle Passage served not only to erase a slave’s sense of human dignity, but the journey also wiped away the collective knowledge and cultural history of those captured. Before boarding a slave ship, captives were stripped of any physical connections to their past lives, their heads were shaved, and their clothing and adornments removed. Denying captives these personal and cultural identifiers began the process by which slaves were systematically dehumanized. Thus we tell the story through the middle passage to expose and exploit the incommensurability between the experience of the female slaves through the fiction of history. By advancing a series of speculative arguments and exploiting the capacities of the subjunctive through our narrative, which is based upon a critical reading of the archive that mimes the figurative dimensions of history, we are able to tell an impossible story and to amplify the impossibility of its telling. our intention isn’t anything as miraculous as recovering the lives of the enslaved or redeeming the dead, but rather laboring to paint as full a picture of the lives of the captives as possible. This double gesture can be described as straining against the limits of the archive to write a cultural history of the captive, and, at the same time, enacting the impossibility of representing the lives of the captives precisely through the process of narration.

My name is Eunice (or your name)

I’m 15 years old (or your age)

I’m a Debater

Struggling to speak the stories of the female slaves

Struggling to comprehend their language

Struggling to tell the story Venuses

Struggling to tell the story THAT CANNOT BE TOLD

Because they are hidden in the bottom of sea

Because they are blanketed away with patriarchal views

Slavery was a human experiment in order to define global humanity

Africans boarded the ship and came out as Black

They turned from human to flesh

They were denied of humanity

They lost their heritage, culture, language,

lost their name, family and their sense of being

There was never a time or a space where “Black” did not mean slave

We’re all connected to Blackness

Blackness still exists in society today

We need to change today

Which is why I’m here performing this affirmative

I’m demanding that the stories to be told in a feminist perspective

I’m demanding that the ocean to be explored through the Middle Passage to tell

the stories of the unrepresented females

## K version

### Observation One is the Middle Passage

#### The story of the Zong

Phillip 8(M. NourbeSe Phillip, writer, grad school in political science at university of west Ontario, “Zong!” Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 2008, pgs 189)//bp

**In 1781** a fully provisioned ship, **the Zong**,1 captained by one Luke Collingwood, **leaves the West Coast** 2 **of Africa with a cargo of 470 slaves and sets sail for Jamaica**. As is the custom, **the cargo is fully insured**. Instead of the customary six to nine weeks, this fateful trip will take some four months on account of navigational errors on the part of the captain. **Some of the Zong's cargo is lost through illness and lack of water; many others, by order of the captain are destroyed:** "Sixty negroes died for want of water... and forty others ... through thirst and frenzy ... threw themselves into the sea and were drowned; and **the master and mariners ... were obliged to throw overboard 150 other negroes."**3 **Captain Luke Collingwood is of the belief that if the African slaves on board die a natural death, the owners of the ship will have to bear the cost, but if they were "thrown alive into the sea, it would be the loss of the underwriters."**4 In other words, **the massacre of the African slaves would prove to be more financially advantageous to the owners of the ship** and its cargo than **if the slaves were allowed to die of "natural causes."** Upon the ship's return to Liverpool, the ship's owners, the Messrs Gregson, make a claim under maritime insurance law for the destroyed cargo, which the insurers, the Messrs Gilbert, refuse to pay. The ship's owners begin legal action against their insurers to recover their loss. A jury finds the insurers liable and orders them to compensate the ship's owners for their losses — their murdered slaves. The insurers, in turn, appeal the jury's decision to the Court of King's Bench, where Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice of England presides, as he would over many of the most significant cases related to slavery.5 The three justices, Willes, Buller, and Mansfield, agree that a new trial should be held. The report of that decision, Gregson v. Gilbert, the formal name of the case more colloquially known as the Zong case, is the text I rely on to create the poems of Zong! **To not tell the story that must be told**. "The most grotesquely bizarre of all slave cases heard in an English court," is how James Walvin, author of Black Ivory, describes the Zong case.6 In the long struggle in England to end the transatlantic slave trade and, eventually, slavery, the Zong case would prove seminal: "The line of dissent from the Zong case to the successful campaign for abolition of slavery was direct and unbroken, however protracted and uneven."71 have found no evidence that a new trial was ever held as ordered, or whether the Messrs Gregson ever received payment for their murdered slaves, and, long before the first trial had begun, the good Captain Collingwood who had strived so hard to save the ship's owners money had long since died.

#### The Middle Passage is what transformed Africans into Blacks, severing them of their ontology in the eyes of Humanity

Wilderson 10(Frank Wilderson III, full professor of Drama and African American studies at the [University of California, Irvine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Irvine). He received his BA in government and philosophy from [Dartmouth College](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dartmouth_College), his Masters in Fine Arts from [Columbia University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_University) and his PhD in Rhetoric and Film Studies from the [University of California, Berkeley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Berkeley). “*Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms”*. Durham, NC: Duke UP pg 38)kelly

**Whereas Humans exist on some plane of being and thus can become existentially present through some struggle for, of, or through recognition, Blacks cannot reach this plane**.6 Spillers, Fanon, and Hartman maintain that the violence that continually repositions the Black as a void of historical movement is without analog in the suffering dynamics of the ontologically alive. The violence that turns the African into a thing is without analog because it does not simply oppress the Black through tactile and empirical technologies of oppression, like the "little family quarrels" which for Fanon the Jewish Holocaust exemplifies. Rather, **the gratuitous violence of the Black's first ontological instance, the Middle Passage, "wiped out [his or her] metaphysics ... his [or her] customs and sources on which they are based."7 Jews went into Auschwitz and came out as Jews. Africans went into the ships and came out as Blacks. The former is a Human holocaust; the latter is a Human and a metaphysical holocaust. That is why it makes little sense to attempt analogy: the Jews have the Dead (the Muselmann) among them; the Dead have the Blacks among them**.¶ **This violence which turns a body into flesh, ripped apart literally and imaginatively, destroys the possibility of ontology because it positions the Black in an infinite and indeterminately horrifying and open vulnerability, an object made available (which is to say fungible) for any subject. As such, "the black has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man" or, more precisely, in the eyes of Humanity.**

#### A saltwater slave never escapes the saltwater mold, even their ancestors feel this dictate their identity, this term exemplifies the consequences of forced migration and presents a fresh approach to examining the diaspora

Smallwood 7(Stephanie Smallwood, Associate Professor Dio Richardson Endowed Professor Ph.D. Duke University, 1999 Fields: Atlantic World, Slavery, Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007, pgs 6-7)//bp

The “saltwater” deﬁned the relentless rhythm of the slave ships. But its pejorative connotation also hinted at what was problematic about the perennial appearance of newcomers in immigrant com- munities seeking stability and coherence**. One could never completely escape the saltwater, for even once an African captive’s own middle passage had ended, the communities where that slave’s life played out in the colonial Americas continued to be molded by the rhythm of ships returning to deposit still more bodies.** Through their own terminology, **the descendants of saltwater slaves articulated their awareness of the problem of enforced emigration.** In speaking of “saltwater” origins, they gave a name to the inter- change between the slave ship and the slave community, between the new African migrants continually arriving to take their place alongside the survivors and the American-born children who were putting down tentative roots in the new communities, between the ongoing experience of forced migration and its collective memory.6 **In place of the networks that link origins and departures, and transform the emigrant into an immigrant, for African captives in the Atlantic system reverberated the traumatic echo of commodiﬁcation: the return of the slave ship, the arrival of new exiles into American slavery, the renewed imprint of the saltwater on the African diaspora.** “Saltwater”: this fragment of the slaves’ language put a name to the crooked lines (social, cultural, epistemological) that shaped their Atlantic world. It affords an analytical and conceptual cate- gory that deﬁnes the Atlantic in historical time and place in a fresh way. It places the emphasis not on the African “background” of American slavery, on migration (focusing on captive Africans as “migrants” instead of “slaves”), or on the “middle passage” as a metaphor for all that was wrong with New World slavery. Instead, the concept of saltwater slavery illuminates what forced migration entailed. The social geography of black life in the Atlantic arena was demarcated by the blurred and bloothed boundaries between captivity, commodiﬁcation, and diaspora. Slaves did not so much leave one behind and enter another as proceed involuntarily, propelled always by agendas and agents other than themselves. With no itinerary and no directional control over their movement, captives had no clear cognitive map to guide them through the transition from land to water, the shift from smaller to larger ships, or the passage from coastal waters to open sea. The migration of the black captives was an unforgiving journey into the Atlantic market that never drew to full closure**. Considering the “saltwater” dimension of slaves’ lives allows us to piece together a picture of a place, a time, and an experience that does not otherwise ﬁgure in the archival record. Such an analysis of what happened to captive Africans in the Atlantic offers something we cannot get at simply by including Africa in our histories of African America or by singling out African captives as involuntary mi- grants or by naming the Atlantic crossing the middle passage. Here is a history of American slavery that begins in Africa and the Atlantic, in the saltwater slavery of peoples in motion, a diaspora shaped by violence encompassing the African, Atlantic, and American arenas of captivity, commodiﬁcation, and enslavement.**

#### Even Africans not fully affected by the Middle Passage are unable to attain immanent differentiation, they are cast as objects in the world of subjects

Wilderson 10(Frank Wilderson III, full professor of Drama and African American studies at the [University of California, Irvine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Irvine). He received his BA in government and philosophy from [Dartmouth College](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dartmouth_College), his Masters in Fine Arts from [Columbia University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_University) and his PhD in Rhetoric and Film Studies from the [University of California, Berkeley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Berkeley). “*Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms”*. Durham, NC: Duke UP pg 95)//bp

WE NOW **TURN our attention to the distance between Slave** cinema that **claims to be socially and politically engaged and the Slave's most unflinching metacom- mentary on the ontology of suffering. In other words, through the lens of Afro-pessimism we will scrutinize Black cinema's insistence that Blackness can be disag- gregated from social death.** By Slave film, I mean fea- ture films whose director is Black and whose narrative strategies must intend for the films' ethical dilemmas to be shouldered by central figures who are also Black and, for our purposes, elaborated by the conditions of the Western Hemisphere. But again, it must be stated that though the social and political specificity of our filmog- raphy and concerns are located in the United States, the argument itself is transnational. **Achille Mbembe ar- gues that, once the slave trade dubs Africa a site of "ter- ritorium nullius" "the land of motionless substance and of the blinding, joyful, and tragic disorder of creation," even Africans who were not captured are nonethe- less repositioned as Slaves in relation to the rest of the world, the absence of chains and the distance from the Middle Passage notwithstanding.** **Though these "free" Africans may indeed still know themselves through coherent cultural accoutrements unavailable to the Black American, they are known by other positions within the global structure as beings unable to "attain to immanent differentiation or to the clarity of self-knowledge."1 They are recast as objects in a world of subjects. To put a finer point on it, Saidiya Hartman writes: "Indeed, there was no relation to blackness outside the terms of this use of, entitlement to, and occupation of the captive body, for even the status of free blacks was shaped and compromised by the existence of slavery**."2 In the main, Black cinema deploys a host of narra- tive strategies to slip the noose of a life shaped and compromised by the existence of slavery.

### Observation Two is the Final Chapter

#### Only through a new discourse can we discuss the structural violence being done to blacks- our current humanist grammar is structured on the suffering of the Black

Wilderson 10(Frank Wilderson III, full professor of Drama and African American studies at the [University of California, Irvine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Irvine). He received his BA in government and philosophy from [Dartmouth College](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dartmouth_College), his Masters in Fine Arts from [Columbia University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_University) and his PhD in Rhetoric and Film Studies from the [University of California, Berkeley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Berkeley). “*Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms”*. Durham, NC: Duke UP pg 55)//kelly

IN THE INTRODUCTION and chapter 1, we saw how the aporia between Black being and political ontology has existed since Arab and European enslavement of Africans. **The crafting of questions through which one might arrive at an unflinching paradigmatic analysis of political ontology, a language that could express the structural and performative violence of Slave-making, is repeatedly thwarted.** **Humanist discourse, whose episte- mological machinations provide our conceptual frame- works for thinking political ontology, is diverse and contrary. But for all its diversity and contrariness it is sutured by an implicit rhetorical consensus that violence accrues to the Human body as a result of transgres- sions,** whether real or imagined, within the symbolic order. That is to say, Humanist discourse can only think a subject's relation to violence as a contingency and not as a matrix that positions the subject. Put another way, **Humanism has no theory of the Slave because it imag- ines a subject who has been either alienated in language or alienated from his or her cartographic and temporal capacities.1 It cannot imagine an object who has been positioned by gratuitous violence and who has no car-** **tographic and temporal capacities to lose—a sentient being for whom recognition and incorporation is impossible. In short, political ontology, as imagined through Humanism, can only produce discourse that has as its foundation alienation and exploitation as a grammar of suffering, when what is needed (for the Black, who is always already a Slave) is an ensemble of ontological questions that has as its foundation accumula- tion and fungibility as a grammar of suffering.2** **The violence of the Middle Passage and the Slave estate,3 technologies of accumulation and** **fungibility, recompose and reenact their horrors on each succeeding generation of Blacks. This violence is both gratuitous** (not contingent on transgressions against the hegemony of civil society) **and structural (positioning Blacks onto logically outside of Humanity and civil society). Simultaneously, it renders the ontological status of Humanity (life itself) wholly dependent on civil society's repetition compulsion: the frenzied and fragmented machinations through which civil society reenacts gratuitous violence on the Black**—that civil society might know itself as the domain of Humans—generation after generation. Again, **we need a new language of abstraction to explain this horror. The explanatory power of Humanist discourse is bankrupt in the face of the Black.** It is inadequate and inessential to, as well as parasitic on, the ensemble of questions which the dead but sentient thing, the Black, struggles to articulate in a world of living subjects. My work on film, cultural theory, and political ontology is my attempt to contribute to this often fragmented and constantly assaulted quest to forge a language of abstraction with explanatory powers emphatic enough to embrace the Black, an accumulated and fungible object, in a Human world of exploited and alienated subjects.

#### Thus in the face of this ontological violence to Blacks, my partner and I advocate for the exploration of the Middle Passage

#### Our discourse is the source of these antagonisms- alternately embracing new grammar would solve these antagonisms; additionally the structural racism is a prior question to gender issues, working class rights, and immigration

Wilderson 10(Frank Wilderson III, full professor of Drama and African American studies at the [University of California, Irvine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Irvine). He received his BA in government and philosophy from [Dartmouth College](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dartmouth_College), his Masters in Fine Arts from [Columbia University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_University) and his PhD in Rhetoric and Film Studies from the [University of California, Berkeley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Berkeley). “*Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms”*. Durham, NC: Duke UP pgs 1-3)//bp

WHEN I WAS a young student at Columbia University in New York **there was a Black woman who used to stand outside the gate and yell** at Whites, Latinos, and East and South Asian students, staff, and faculty as they entered the university **She accused them of hav- ing stolen her sofa and of selling her into slavery**. She always winked at the Blacks, though we didn't wink back. Some of us thought her outbursts bigoted and out of step with the burgeoning ethos of multicultural- ism and "rainbow coalitions." But others did not wink back because we were too fearful of the possibility that her isolation would become our isolation, and we had come to Columbia for the precise, though largely as- sumed and unspoken, purpose of foreclosing on that peril. Besides, **people said she was crazy.** Later, when I attended the University of California at Berkeley, I saw **a Native American man sitting on the sidewalk of Tele- graph Avenue**. **On the ground in front of him** was an upside-down hat and **a sign informing pedestrians that here they could settle the "Land Lease Accounts" that they had neglected to settle all of their lives. He, too, was "crazy.”** Leaving aside for the moment their state of mind**, it would seem that the structure, that is to say the rebar, or better still the grammar of their demands—and, by extension, the grammar of their suffering—was in- deed an ethical grammar.** Perhaps it is the only ethical grammar available to modern politics and modernity writ large, **for it draws our attention not to how space and time are used and abused by enfranchised and vio- lently powerful interests, but to the violence that underwrites the mod- ern world's capacity to think, act, and exist spatially and temporally. The violence that robbed her of her body and him of his land provided the stage on which other violent and consensual dramas could be enacted.** Thus, they would have to be crazy, crazy enough to call not merely the ac- tions of the world but the world itself to account, and to account for them no less! **The woman at Columbia was not demanding** to be a participant in an unethical network of distribution: she was not demanding **a place within capital, a piece of the pie** (the demand for her sofa notwithstand- ing). Rather, she was articulating a triangulation between two things. On the one hand was the loss of her body, the very dereliction of her corpo- real integrity, what Hortense Spillers charts as the transition from being a being to becoming a "being for the captor,"1 the drama of value (the stage on which surplus value is extracted from labor power through commod- ity production and sale). On the other was the corporeal integrity that, once ripped from her body, fortified and extended the corporeal integrity of everyone else on the street. She gave birth to the commodity and to the Human, yet she had neither subjectivity nor a sofa to show for it. In her eyes, the world—not its myriad discriminatory practices, but the world itself—was unethical. And yet, the world passes by her without the slightest inclination to stop and disabuse her of her claim. Instead, it calls her "crazy." And to what does the world attribute the Native American mans insanity? "He's crazy if he thinks he's getting any money out of us"? Surely, that doesn't make him crazy. Rather it is simply an indication that he does not have a big enough gun. **What are we to make of a world that responds to the most lucid enun- ciation of ethics with violence?** What are the foundational questions of the ethico-political? Why are these questions so scandalous that they are rarely posed politically, intellectually, and cinematically—unless they are posed obliquely and unconsciously, as if by accident? **Give Turtle Island back to the "Savage." Give life itself back to the Slave**. **Two simple sen-tences, fourteen simple words, and the structure of U.S.** **(and perhaps global)** **antagonisms would be dismantled. An "ethical modernity" would no longer sound like an oxymoron. From there we could busy ourselves with important conflicts that have been promoted to the level of antago- nisms, such as class struggle, gender conflict, and immigrants' rights.**

#### This structural racism takes its form in the racial profiling of the police and the vicarious liability of the State, alternately the White unaffected by profiling is unaware of this institutionalized antagonism

Martinot and Sexton 3 **(**Martinot, Steve, and Jared Sexton. Martinot, Professor at San Francisco State, Sexton, Director, African American Studies School of Humanities Associate Professor, African American Studies School of Humanities Associate Professor, Film & Media Studies School of Humanities Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Ethnic Studies "The Avant-Garde of White Supremacy."*Social Identities* 9.2 (2003): 169-81.)

Indeed, **the state has even invented a structural grammar to organise these**

**transformations.** Take the legal concept of ‘vicarious liability’. A man drives away from a trafﬁc stop and a cop ﬁres into the car to stop it (already an arrogation of impunity). He kills the passenger in the car. The driver is charged with murder instead of the cop; not only does impunity mean the cop cannot do wrong, but the driver is actually made responsible for bullets that had his name on them. **The police become a machine for killing and incarcerating while the personhood of those they stop or notice or proﬁle is conscripted into the role of perpetrator,** the ﬁnger on the trigger of that machine. Vicarious liability is the inversion of responsibility by the police. **When the police break up a peaceful demonstration, those who have been beaten bloody with their night- sticks are arrested and charged with assaulting an ofﬁcer.** In its stridency, **the impunity machine claims that those people killed by the cops were only committing suicide.** **The existence of a victim of police abuse is transformed into the cause for the abuse, a victim of self-abuse through the machinery of the police** … There is no way to say that this makes sense. **What keeps getting repeated here?** **It is not just the repetition of derogation or acts of police impunity.** **While the police wreak havoc** on the lives of those they assault, **exercising a license implicit in and extending racial proﬁling, they engage in a vital cultural labour.** On the one hand, **racial proﬁling enables those unproﬁled (the** average **white** man and white women who are linked to one) **to ignore the experience of social dislocation** that proﬁling produces. They may recognise the fact of proﬁling itself, but they are free from the feeling of dread. Indeed, proﬁling creates insouciance in an atmosphere of organised violence. **Ofﬁcial discourse seeks to accustom us to thinking about state violence as a warranted part of the social order.** For them **the security of belonging accompa- nies the re-racialisation of whiteness as the intensiﬁcation of anti-blackness. The police elaborate the grounds for the extension of a renewed and reconﬁgured white supremacist political economic order.** **On the other hand, there is terror and the police are its vanguard. The law, clothed in the ethic of impunity, is simply contingent on the repetition of its violence.** One cannot master it, regardless of the intimacy or longevity of one’s experience with it. One can only sense its frightening closeness as a probability, as serial states of brutality or derogation. The dread and suffering of those in the way of these repeated spasms of violence are always here and always on the horizon**. In the face of racial proﬁling by the police, however prepared those proﬁled may be for that aggression, it always appears unexpectedly.**

#### In order to switch our discourse we must burn all traces of white-over-black

Farley 5(Anthony Paul Farley, Associate Professor, Boston College Law School. J.D., Harvard Law School. "Perfecting Slavery." *Boston College Law School* (2005.): pgs 235-236)//bp

**What is to be done? Two hundred years ago, when the slaves in Haiti rose up, they, of necessity, burned everything:** They burned San Domingo flat so that at the end of the war it was a charred desert. Why do you burn everything? asked a French officer of a prisoner. We have a right to burn what we cultivate because a man has a right to dispose of his own labour, was the reply of this unknown anarchist.48 **The slaves burned everything because everything was against them. Everything was against the slaves, the entire order that it was their lot to follow, the entire order in which they were positioned as worse than senseless things, every plantation, everything.**49 “**Leave nothing white behind you,” said Toussaint to those dedicated to the end of white-over- black**.50 “God gave Noah the rainbow sign. No more water, the fire next time.”51 **The slaves burned everything, yes, but, unfortunately, they only burned everything in Haiti.**52 **Theirs was the greatest and most successful revolution in the history of the world but the failure of their fire to cross the waters was the great tragedy of the nineteenth century.**53 At the dawn of the twentieth century, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, “The colorline belts the world.”54 Du Bois said that the problem of the twentieth century was the problem of the colorline.55 The problem, now, at the dawn of the twenty-first century is the problem of the colorline. The colorline continues to belt the world. **Indeed, the slave power that is the United States now threatens an entire world with the death that it has become and so the slaves of yesterday, today, and tomorrow, those with nothing but their chains to lose, must, if they would be free, if they would escape slavery, win the entire world.**

#### Exploring the Middle Passage is the first step to deconstructing the state that has grown parasitic on the Slave

Wilderson 10(Frank Wilderson III, full professor of Drama and African American studies at the [University of California, Irvine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Irvine). He received his BA in government and philosophy from [Dartmouth College](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dartmouth_College), his Masters in Fine Arts from [Columbia University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_University) and his PhD in Rhetoric and Film Studies from the [University of California, Berkeley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Berkeley). “*Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms”*. Durham, NC: Duke UP pg 11)//kelly

Regarding the Black position, some might ask why, after claims successfully made on the state by the Civil Rights Movement, do I insist on positing an operational analytic for cinema, film studies, and political theory that appears to be a dichotomous and essentialist pairing of Masters and Slaves? In other words, **why should we think of today's Blacks in the United States as Slaves and everyone else (with the exception of Indians) as Masters?** One could answer these questions by demonstrating how nothing remotely approaching claims successfully made on the state has come to pass. In other words, the election of a Black president aside, police brutality, mass incarceration, segregated and substandard schools and housing, astronomical rates of **HIV** infection, and the threat of being turned away en masse at the polls still constitute the lived experience of Black life. But such empirically based rejoinders would lead us in the wrong direction; we would find ourselves on "solid" ground, which would only mystify, rather than clarify, the question. **We would be forced to appeal to "facts," the "historical record," and empirical markers of stasis and change, all of which could be turned on their head with more of the same. Underlying such a downward spiral into sociology, political science, history, and public policy debates would be the very rubric that I am calling into question: the grammar of suffering known as exploitation and alienation, the assumptive logic whereby subjective dispossession is arrived at in the calculations between those who sell labor power and those who acquire it.** The Black qua the worker. Orlando Patterson has already dispelled this faulty ontological grammar in ***Slavery and Social Death,*** where he demonstrates how and why work, or forced labor, is not a constituent element of slavery. Once the "solid" plank of "work" is removed from slavery, then the conceptually coherent notion of "claims against the state"**—the proposition that the state and civil society are elastic enough to even contemplate the possibility of an emancipatory project for the Black position—disintegrates into thin air. The imaginary of the state and civil society is parasitic on the Middle Passage. Put another way, No slave, no world**. And, in addition, as Patterson argues, no slave is ***in*** the world. If, **as an ontological position, that is, as a grammar of suffering, the Slave is not a laborer but an anti-Human, a position against which Humanity establishes, maintains, and renews its coherence, its corporeal integrity; if the Slave is**, to borrow from Patterson, **generally dishonored, perpetually open to gratuitous violence, and void of kinship structure,** that is, having no relations that need be recognized, a being outside of re-lationality, then **our analysis cannot be approached through the rubric of gains or reversals in struggles with the state and civil society, not unless and until the interlocutor first explains how the Slave is of the world.** The onus is not on one who posits the Master/Slave dichotomy but on the one who argues there is a distinction between Slaveness and Blackness. How, when, and where did such a split occur? The woman at the gates of Columbia University awaits an answer. ¶ In "The Black Boy Looks at the White Boy," James Baldwin wrote about "the terrible gap between [Norman Mailer's] life and my own." It is a painful essay in which Baldwin explains how he experienced, through beginning and ending his "friendship" with Mailer, those moments when Blackness inspires White emancipatory dreams and how it feels to suddenly realize the impossibility of the inverse: "The really ghastly thing about trying to convey to a white man the reality of the Negro experience has nothing whatever to do with the fact of color, but has to do with this mans relationship to his own life. He will face in your life only what he is willing to face in his." His long Paris nights with Mailer bore fruit only to the extent that Mailer was able to say, "Me, too." Beyond that was the void which Baldwin carried with him into and, subsequently, out of the "friendship." Baldwins condemnation of discourses that utilize exploitation and alienations grammar of suffering is unflinching: "I am afraid that most of the white people I have ever known impressed me as being in the grip of a weird nostalgia, dreaming of a vanished state of security and order, against which dream, unfailingly and unconsciously, they tested and very often lost their lives."10 He is writing about the encounters between ¶ Blacks and Whites in Paris and New York in the **1950s,** but he may as well be writing about the eighteenth-century encounters between Slaves and the rhetoric of new republics like revolutionary France and America.11

#### Only through the historical exploration of the Middle Passage can we gain a greater understanding of the Africans experience

Smallwood 7(Stephanie Smallwood, Associate Professor Dio Richardson Endowed Professor Ph.D. Duke University, 1999 Fields: Atlantic World, Slavery, Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007, pgs 114-115)//bp

**The oral traditions illustrate a dimension of the region’s social ter- rain that European maps of the political landscape could not**: matriclans and their kinship-based claims to authority that pos- ited group membership through the idiom of blood were as sig- niﬁcant as states and their kingship-based claims to authority that framed assumptions about group membership and demands for al- legiance in the idiom of commercial inﬂuence and military might. **The cultural centrality and historical weight of kinship institutions meant that the state was not necessarily also a national body** (it had no necessary correlate in national or ethnic membership). **At play among communities** in the Gold Coast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries **were the shifting and competing afﬁnities** sub- sumed under these two distinct axes of authority: kinship (ma- triclan) on the one hand, and kingship (state) on the other. The varied and contingent threads of ethnic identity ran through the in- terplay of these two. **The recorded oral traditions convey movement that belies the static picture drawn in European maps. They set the still image of the map into dynamic historical motion.** **The oral traditions allow us to perceive, however faintly, something of the complex social to- pography of the region, in both its spatial and temporal dimen- sions.** In a spatial sense, the **oral traditions reveal something about the ethnic diversity of the community; temporally, they illustrate the historical dimension of ethnicity.** In this sense, the social geography of the region cannot be adequately understood as the history of an ethnically homogeneous people who called themselves the Akan. Rather, it must be understood as a history of competitive claims to resources and power waged by groups whose identities were rooted not in a shared language or “culture” per se, but in the interplay of local, historically contingent markers of afﬁliation. “Identity” in other words, was multivalent.

#### Telling the story of the Middle Passage is key to begin the deconstruction, yet the story cannot be told- only through a different grammar can we tell the story

Phillip 8(M. NourbeSe Phillip, writer, grad school in political science at university of west Ontario, “Zong!” Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 2008, pgs 201)//bp

It is fall 2005:1 attend a talk at Hart House, University of Toronto, by a young forensic anthropologist, Clea Koff, who has written a book about working in Rwanda and Bosnia identifying the bones of the murdered.24 **It's important, she says, for bodies to be exhumed — in doing so you return dignity to the dead.** What is the word for bringing bodies back from water? From a "liquid grave"?25 Months later I do an Internet search for a word or phrase for bringing someone back from underwater that has as precise a meaning as the unearthing contained within the word exhume. I find words like resurrect and subaquatic but not "exaqua." **Does this mean that unlike being interred, once you're underwater there is no retrieval — that you can never "exhumed" from water?** The gravestone or tombstone marks the spot of interment, whether of ashes or the body. What marks the spot of subaquatic death? **Families need proof**, Koff says — they come looking for recognizable clothing and say, "I want the bones." I, too, want the bones. I come — albeit slowly — to the understanding that **Zong! is hauntological; it is a work of haunting, a wake of sorts, where the spectres of the undead make themselves present. And only in not-telling can the story be told; only in the space where it's not told — literally in the margins of the text, a sort of negative space, a space not so much of non-meaning as anti-meaning. Our entrance to the past is through memory — either oral or written. And water. In this case salt water.** Sea water. And, as the ocean appears to be the same yet is constantly in motion, affected by tidal movements, so too **this memory appears stationary yet is shifting always. Repetition drives the event and the memory simultaneously**,26 **becoming a haunting, becoming spectral in its nature**.

## 2AC

### Middle passage key

#### The atrocities of the Middle Passage started the unending, unwarranted violence on black bodies that is perpetuated through every succeeding generation. Humanity’s ontology is dependent through denial of humanity of the black.

Wilderson 10’

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 55, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

IN THE INTRODUCTION and chapter1, wesawhow the aporia between Black being and political ontology has existed since Arab and European enslavement of Africans. The crafting of questions through which one might arrive at an unflinching paradigmatic analysis of political ontology, a language that could express the structural and performative violence of Slave-making, is repeatedly thwarted. Humanist discourse, whose episte- mological machinations provide our conceptual frame- works for thinking political ontology, is diverse and contrary. But for all its diversity and contrariness it is sutured by an implicit rhetorical consensus that violence accrues to the Human body as a result of transgres- sions, whether real or imagined, within the symbolic order. That is to say, Humanist discourse can only think a subject's relation to violence as a contingency and not as a matrix that positions the subject. Put another way, **Humanism has no theory of the Slave because it imag- ines a subject who has been either alienated in language or alienated from his or her cartographic and temporal capacities.1 It cannot imagine an object who has been positioned by gratuitous violence and who has no cartographic and temporal capacities to lose—a sentient being for whom recognition and incorporation is impossible.** In short, political ontology, as imagined through Humanism, can only produce discourse that has as its foundation alienation and exploitation as a grammar of suffering, when what is needed **(for the Black**, who **is always already a Slave)** is an ensemble of ontological **questions that has as its foundation accumula- tion and fungibility as a grammar of suffering**.2¶ ¶ The **violence of the Middle Passage and the Slave estate**, technologies of¶ accumulation and fungibility, **recompose and reenact their horrors on each succeeding generation of Blacks**. **This violence is both gratuitous** (not contingent on transgressions against the hegemony of civil society) **and structural** (positioning Blacks onto logically outside of Humanity and civil society). Simultaneously, **it renders the ontological status of Humanity** (life itself) **wholly dependent on civil society's repetition compulsion**: the frenzied and fragmented **machinations through which civil society reenacts** gratuitous **violence on the Black**—that civil society might know itself as the domain of Humans—generation after generation.¶ Again, **we need a new language of abstraction to explain this horror**. The explanatory power of Humanist discourse is bankrupt in the face of the Black. It is inadequate and inessential to, as well as parasitic on, the ensemble of questions which the dead but sentient thing, the Black, struggles to articulate in a world of living subjects. My work on film, cul- tural theory, and political ontology is my attempt to contribute to this often fragmented and constantly assaulted quest to forge a language of abstraction with explanatory powers emphatic enough to embrace the Black, an accumulated and fungible object, in a Human world of ex- ploited and alienated subjects.

#### **Through the mechanical dissolution of the African culture the middle passage created the idea of the Black and sectioned them off as a separate entity from the rest of humanity.**

Wilderson 10’

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 299-301, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

If Fanon turns his attention to the identity, or rather identifications, of hemispheric antagonisms qua the "mulatta," Spillers turns her atten- tion to the structure of U.S. (hemispheric) antagonisms qua the "mu- latta." Spillers asks, what is the essence of historical conjunctures when civil society needs the "mulatta" (or "mulatto") most and how does this work? "The mulatta mediates between dualities, which would suggest that at least mimetic movement, imitating successful historical move- ment, is upward, along the vertical scale of being"; as opposed to ahistorical movement, sideways along the lateral scale of stillness. In addition,¶ 3 0 0 CHAPTER ELEVEN¶ Spillers asserts, "the 'mulatto/a,' just as the nigger,' tells us little or nothing about the subject buried beneath the epithets, but quite a great deal more concerning the psychic and cultural reflexes that invent and invoke them."14 In other words, if mulatta and mulatto are epithets connoting, like nigger, the temporal and spatial incapacity of Blackness, how is the mimesis of White movement mimicked by the "mulatta" or "mulatto"? How can the figure of Leticia experience "the conversion of seen into scene" within the frame o “}the "mulatta"-function resists summary, but some of its highpoints can be extracted in order to illustrate its articula- tion with Monsters Ball.¶ First, she argues that the "mulatta" and the "mulatto" "heal" a wound in civil society The wound has what appears to be two separate lacera- tions, one sexual, and the other political; but Spillers demonstrates that they form one and the same scar.¶ Second, she notes that civil society's production of this figure has con- sequences among Blacks. Spillers spends more than three hundred pages reflecting on how slavery, broadly speaking, and the Middle Passage in particular, destroyed the prospect for interontological relations between Blacks and the species modernity refers to as "humanity" (and that I refer to as "Humanity"). But, from this obliteration of time and space, a signifi- cant and painfully ironic political gain accrues to Blackness. Blackness is vested with the potential for unflinching, uncompromising, and comprehensive political movement because Black subjects—if they can be called "subjects"—have the potential to act, politically, through a collectivity that has nothing to salvage and nothing to lose. But when civil society introduces the "mulatta" and the "mulatto" into the mass of Blackness, it produces "bodies" that appear to have something to salvage and lose in the midst of flesh and the latter's absolute dereliction.16 Here Spillers amplifies and develops a point that Fanon hints at: "mulattos" and "mu- lattas" are neither self-naming as individuals nor auto colonizing as a group, but instead constitute what Spillers calls a "a mythical or reified property... a stage prop ofthe literary," introduced without the consenpt of the Black masses and without the consent of Blacks who are "staged" as "mulattas" or "mulattos."¶ Half-White Healing. This intervention bodes ill for the insurgent potential of Blackness, manifest most dramatically in those moments when it seeks to assume the comprehensive antagonism of its structural position. "Subsequent to the intrusion of the middle term [mulatto or mulatta]t or middle ground—figuratively—between subjugated and dominant interests, public discourse gains, essentially, the advantages of a lie by orchestrating otherness through degrees of difference. The philosopher's 'great chain of being' ramifies now to disclose within American Africanity itself literal shades of human value so that the subject community refracts the op- pressive mechanism just as certainly as the authoring forms put them in place. This fatalistic motion . . . turns the potentially insurgent commu- nity furiously back on itself."18 Spiller's observation that Blackness ("the subject community") can refract the "oppressive mechanism" authored by civil society is chilling. Here she has unpacked the uncommon pain behind the painfully common common sense of such terms as self-hatred or color-struck (both of which are often used as a kind of lazy shorthand for Fanon's clinical term, hallucinatory whitening). Moreover, her struc- tural analysis of "mulatta" and "mulatto" as function, not only deciphers this typical common-sense shorthand but reroutes its explanatory genesis away from "the subject community," Blacks, and back to civil society, Whites: "public discourse gains, essentially, the advantages of a lie by orchestrating otherness through degrees of difference." The lie that gets or- chestrated is none other than the egoic monumentalization of the phal- lus, implied in my first summary point above. Again, there is a sexual, as well as a political, dimension to this egoic monumentalization and phallic aggrandizement "orchestrated" by civil society ("public discourse").

#### The violence of the Middle Passage has not ended, but changed performance over time. This violence is not an experience, but a condition of black life.

Wilderson 10’

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 74-75, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

As a psychoanalyst, Fanon does not dispute Lacan's claim that **suffer-**¶ **ing and freedom are produced and attained,** respectively, in the realm of symbolic; but **this**, for Fanon, **is only half of the modality of existence. The other half** of suffering and freedom **is violence.** By the time Fanon¶ THE NARCISSISTIC SLA VE 75¶ has woven the description of his patient's condition (i.e., his own life as a Black doctor in France) into the prescription for a cure (his commitment to armed struggle in Algeria), he has extended the logic of disorder and death from the symbolic into the real. "Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete dis- order. . . . It is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature. . . . Their first encounter was marked by violence and their existence together . . . was carried on by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannons. . . . This narrow world, strewn with prohibitions, can only¶ 41¶ be called in question by absolute violence."¶ This is because the **structural, or absolute, violence,** what Loic Wacquant¶ calls the "carceral continuum," **is not a Black experience but a condition of Black "life." It remains constant, paradigmatic ally, despite changes in its "performance" over time—slave ship, Middle Passage, Slave estate,**¶ 42¶ Jim Crow, the ghetto, and the prison-industrial complex. There is an¶ uncanny connection between Fanon's absolute violence and Lacan's real. Thus, by extension, the grammar of suffering of the Black itself is on the level of the real. In this emblematic passage, Fanon does for violence what Lacan does for alienation: namely, he removes the negative stigma such a term would otherwise incur in the hands of theorists and practition- ers who seek coherence and stability. He also raises in Lacan's schema of suffering and freedom a contradiction between the idea of universal unraced contemporaries and two forces opposed to each other, whose first encounter and existence together is marked by violence. In short, he divides the world not between cured contemporaries and uncured con- temporaries, but between contemporaries of all sorts and Slaves. He lays the groundwork for a theory of antagonism over and above a theory of conflict.¶

#### The Middle Passage exemplified the commoditization of the black and reinforced complete ownership over life. Force relations culminated dehumanized black suffering

Wilderson 10

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 137-138, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

For Black people, the structure of essential antagonisms cannot be at- tributed, as Fortunati attributes it, to the illusory nature of the reproduc- tive sphere (laws like S T E P incarcerate "Black home" with scare quotes) where the woman's subordination to patriarchal capital is brought on by the illusory mystification of her mother-to-child, wife-to-husband re- lations (mystified and illusory because, as Fortunati would have it, the objective conditions of the woman's oppression stem from the fact that her waged relation to capital is hidden by capital). On the contrary, the ontological core of Black suffering is not lost in a labyrinth of production posing as a reproduction posing as natural motherhood. Nor, at the core of Black suffering, is the Black woman's (or man's) ontology erroneously gendered by patriarchal castration fears and masculine desire as in an Oedipal drama. **For the production of Black suffering,** as Spillers notes, no such hall of mirrors is necessary: "**Gender, or sex-role assignation or the clear differentiation of sexual stuff, sustained elsewhere in the culture [i.e., available to White and non-Black women], does not emerge for the African-American female in this historic instance** [an "instance" which Spiller reminds us **spans** from **the Middle Passage** to the Moynihan Re- port to the present] **except indirectly, except as a way to reinforce through the process of birthing 'the reproduction of the relations of production.'"** Spillers goes on to acknowledge the symmetry between the Black woman and Fortunati's working-class mother/wife, in that **the birthing process is indeed one of the first steps in the reproduction of the relations of pro- duction.** In other words, like **White mothers, Black mothers, if they can be called mothers, can also help Black babies reproduce both themselves and the values and behavior patterns necessary to maintain civil society's system of hierarchy**. But Spillers steadfastly insists that although Black¶ "mothers" indeed experience the same "naturalized" attachments to their children (and to their partners) as mothers of the working class, **the Black woman cannot "claim her child."**33 **Black children do not belong to Black mothers** (or fathers), **just as Black men and women don't belong to, and thus cannot claim, each other: flesh is always already claimed by direct relations of force.**¶ As a result, the conflicts that arise between the disparate ideological elements within civil society (i.e., the White Left and the White Right) ultimately strengthen White solidarity within the libidinal economy. The greater the intensity of the conflict, the more intense the unconscious reminder of what they can all agree on: that bodily reification and muti- lation is not one of their dilemmas. It's a Black thing. And when this un- conscious agreement is made available to speech and therefore becomes conscious, it is displaced onto a myriad of investments—one may call it environmentalism, multiculturalism, pacifism, or feminism, but I call it anti-Black policing.

#### The Middle Passage transformed African culture into black “style.” This allows for the unlimited placement and displacement of heritage and removes African ownership

Wilderson 10

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 234-235, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

There is a similarity between the place Blackness occupies in the pri- vate and quotidian imaginary of the Capitol architect William Allen and the place it occupies in the imaginary of Chris Eyre's Skins. For both the architect and the film, **Blackness is "a vicarious, disfiguring, joyful pleasure, passionately enabling as well as substitutively dead.**"7 Although the unconscious of both Allen and Skins experience the object status—the fungibility—of Blackness, they do so differently. For Allen, the vicarious - ness is emphasized; for Skins, it is the joyfulness of the pleasure— hip-hop esprit de corps—which ultimately disfigures (the death of Corky Red Tail). But for both the film and the architect**, it is Blackness that facilitates the capacity to contemplate egoic monumentalization**. Robinson, hyperaware of and hypersensitive to his own object status, his own fun- gibility, is disturbed not by the truth of his own dead ontics (his book is testament to more than sixty years of living with, and suffering through, nonbeing) but by the fact that it does not disturb Allen the Capitol architect. Allen, for his part, is disturbed by Robinsons disturbance. But the reaction of Skins to the "Savage" knowledge of Black fungibility is of a different order than Aliens.¶ Skins is disturbed not by the prospect of Black rage (or, in this case, Randall Robinsons subdued annoyance) but by **the horrifying possibil- ity that Black fungibility might somehow rub off of the Slave and stick to the "Savage." The philosophical anxiety of Skins is all too aware that, through the Middle Passage, African culture became Black "style," both a form of "contraband" and one of civil society's many "spoils of war.**" The object status of Blackness means that it can be placed and displaced with limitless frequency and across untold territories, by whoever so chooses. Most important, there is nothing real Black people can do to either check or direct this process. **Both jazz and hip-hop have become known in the same way that Black bodies are known: as forces "liberated" from time and space, belonging nowhere and to no one, simply there for the taking. Anyone can say "nigger" because anyone can be a "nigger.**"8 What a night- mare indeed, reads the caution of Skins, should the fragile coherence of Indigenous sovereignty fall prey to such hopeless and totalizing deraci- nation. "Simple enough one has only not to be a nigger."9¶ Whereas the knowledge of Black fungibility folds easily into Aliens (Settler/Master) reflections, the same knowledge of **the object status of Blacks threatens to pull "Savages" perilously close to their own object status, that is, to the genocide modality of their ontology.** But rather than surrender to this encounter with the **object status of Blackness and form an ontological legion of the dead,** a rather curious condensation and dis- placement occurs.

#### The violence of the Middle Passage continues in an unending, unwarranted cycle violence on black bodies that is perpetuated through each new generation. The social death of the blacks caused by the middle passage defined humanity by denying it to the blacks.

Wilderson in 10

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 19-21, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

During the emergence of new ontological relations in the modern world, from the late Middle Ages through the 1500s, many different kinds of people experienced slavery. In other words, there have been times when **natal alienation, general dishonor, and gratuitous violence have turned**¶ 18 INTRODUCTION¶ **individuals** of myriad ethnicities and races **into beings who are socially dead**. But African, or more precisely **Blackness, refers to an individual who is by definition** always already **void of relationality**. Thus **modernity marks** the emergence of **a new ontology** because it is **an era in which an entire race appears,** people who, a priori, that is prior to the contingency of the "transgressive act" (such as losing a war or being convicted of a crime), stand **as socially dead in relation to the rest of the world**. This, I will argue, is as true for those who were herded onto the slave ships as it is for those who had no knowledge whatsoever of the coffles. In this period, chattel slavery, as a condition of ontology and not just as an event of experience, stuck to the African like Velcro. To the extent that we can think the essence of Whiteness and the essence of Blackness, we must think their essences through the structure of the Master/Slave relation. It should be clear by now that I am not only drawing a distinction between what is commonly thought of as the Master/Slave relation and the constituent elements of the Master/Slave relation,26 but I am also drawing a distinction between the experience of slavery (which anyone can be subjected to) and the ontology of slavery, which in modernity (the years 1300 to the present) becomes the singular purview of the Black. In this period, slavery is cathedralized. It "advances" from a word which describes a condition that anyone can be subjected to, to a word which reconfigures the African body into Black flesh. Far from being merely the experience of the African, slavery is now the Africans access to (or, more correctly, banishment from) ontology.¶ In their own ways, Spillers, a Black woman and cultural historian, and Eltis, a White historian of the transatlantic slave trade, make the similar points. First, they claim that the pre-Columbian period, or the late Middle Ages (1300-1500), was a moment in which Europe, the Arab world, and Asia found themselves at an ontological crossroads in society's ability to meditate on its own existence. Second, Spillers and Eltis ask whether the poor, convicts, vagrants, and beggars of any given society (French, German, Dutch, Arab, East Asian) should be condemned to a life of natal alienation. Should they have social death forced on them in lieu of real death (i.e., executions)? Should this form of chattel slavery be imposed on the internal poor, en masse—that is, should the scale of White slavery (to the extent that any one nation carried it out at all) become industrial?¶ INTRODUCTION 19¶ And, most important, should the progeny of the White slave be enslaved as well?¶ It took some time for this argument to unfold. Eltis suggests the argument ensued—depending on the country—from 1200 to the mid-i4oos (1413-23), and that, whereas it was easily and forthrightly settled in places like England and the Netherlands, in other countries like Portugal, parts of southern France, and parts of the Arab world, the question waxed and waned.¶ Again, what is important for us to glean from these historians is that the pre-Columbian period, the late Middle Ages, reveals no archive of debate on these three questions as they might be related to that massive group of black-skinned people south of the Sahara. Eltis suggests that there was indeed massive debate which ultimately led to Britain taking the lead in the abolition of slavery, but he reminds us that that debate did not have its roots in the late Middle Ages, the post-Columbian period of the 1500s or the Virginia colony period of the 1600s. It was, he asserts, an outgrowth of the mid- to late eighteenth-century emancipatory thrust— intra-Human disputes such as the French and American revolutions— that swept through Europe. But Eltis does not take his analysis further than this. Therefore, it is important that we not be swayed by his optimism about the Enlightenment and its subsequent abolitionist discourses. It is highly conceivable that **the discourse that elaborates the justification for freeing the slave is not the product of the Human being having suddenly and miraculously recognized the slave. Rather**, as Saidiya Hartman argues, **emancipatory discourses present themselves to us as further evidence of the Slave's fungibility**: "The figurative capacities of blackness enable white flights of fancy while increasing the likelihood of the captive's disappearance."27 First, the questions of Humanism were elaborated in contradistinction to the human void, to the African qua chattel (the 1200s to the end of the 1600s). Second, as the presence of Black chattel in the midst of exploited and unexploited Humans (workers and bosses, respectively) became a fact of the world, **exploited Humans** (in the throes of class conflict with unexploited Humans) **seized the image of the Slave as an enabling vehicle that animated the evolving discourses of their own emancipation, just as unexploited Humans had seized the flesh of the Slave to increase their profits**.¶ 20 INTRODUCTION¶ **Without this gratuitous violence**, a violence that marks everyone ex-perientially until the late Middle Ages when it starts to mark the Black onto logically, **the so-called great emancipatory discourses of modernity— Marxism, feminism, postcolonialism, sexual liberation, and the ecology movement—political discourses predicated on grammars of suffering and whose constituent elements are exploitation and alienation, might not have developed.**28 Chattel slavery did not simply reterritorialize the ontology of the African. It also created the Human out of culturally disparate entities from Europe to the East.¶ I am not suggesting that across the globe Humanism developed in the same way regardless of region or culture; what I am saying is that the late Middle Ages gave rise to an ontological category—an ensemble of common existential concerns—which made and continues to make possible both war and peace, conflict and resolution, between the disparate members of the human race, East and West. Senator Thomas Hart Benton intuited this notion of the existential commons when he wrote that though the "Yellow race" and its culture had been "torpid and stationary for thousands of years . . . [Whites and Asians] must talk together, and trade together, and marry together. Commerce is a great civilizer—social intercourse as great—and marriage greater."29 Eltis points out that as late as the seventeenth century, "prisoners taken in the course of European military action... could expect death if they were leaders, or banishment if they were deemed followers, but never enslavement.... Detention followed by prisoner exchanges or ransoming was common." "By the seventeenth century, enslavement of fellow Europeans was beyond the limits" of Humanism's existential commons, even in times of war.30 Slave status "was reserved for non-Christians. Even the latter group however . . . had some prospect of release in exchange for Christians held by rulers of Algiers, Tunis, and other Mediterranean Muslim powers."31 But though the practice of enslaving the vanquished was beyond the limit of wars among Western peoples and only practiced provisionally in East-West conflicts, the baseness of the option was not debated when it came to the African. **The race of Humanism** (White, Asian, South Asian, and Arab) **could not have produced itself without the simultaneous production of** that walking destruction which became known as **the Black**. Put another way, through chattel slavery the world gave birth and coherence to both its joys of domesticity and to its struggles of political discontent; and¶ INTRODUCTION 21¶ with these joys and struggles **the Human was born, but not before it murdered the Black, forging a symbiosis between the political ontology of Humanity and the social death of Blacks.**

### Law Bad

#### The language of the law exacerbates and ignores the Middle Passage because the story operates on a higher level of violence. It poses a much bigger problem that first created a falsified lens to view humanity and thus, anti-blackness.

Wilderson 10’

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 10-11, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

The polemic animating this research stems from ( 1 ) my reading of Na- tive and Black American metacommentaries on Indian and Black subject positions written over the past twenty-three years and ( 2 ) a sense of how much that work appears out of joint with intellectual protocols and polit- ical ethics which underwrite political praxis and socially engaged popu- lar cinema in this epoch of multiculturalism and globalization. The sense of abandonment I experience when I read the metacommentaries on Red positionality (by theorists such as Leslie Silko, Ward Churchill, Taiaiake Alfred, Vine Deloria Jr., and Haunani-Kay Trask) and the metacommen- taries on Black positionality (by theorists such as David Marriott, Saidiya Hartman, Ronald Judy, Hortense Spillers, Orlando Patterson, and Achille Mbembe) against the deluge of multicultural positivity is overwhelming. One suddenly realizes that, though the semantic field on which subjec- tivity is imagined has expanded phenomenally through the protocols of multiculturalism and globalization theory, Blackness and an unflinching articulation of Redness are more unimaginable and illegible within this expanded semantic field than they were during the height of the F B I ' S repressive Counterintelligence Program ( C O I N T E L P R O ) . On the seman- tic field on which the new protocols are possible, Indigenism can indeed¶ lO INTRODUCTION¶ become partially legible through a programmatics of structural adjust- ment (as fits our globalized era). In other words, for the Indians' subject position to be legible, their positive registers of lost or threatened cultural identity must be foregrounded, when in point of fact the antagonistic register of dispossession that Indians "possess" is a position in relation to a socius structured by genocide. As Churchill points out, everyone from Armenians to Jews have been subjected to genocide, but the Indigenous position is one for which genocide is a constitutive element, not merely an historical event, without which Indians would not, paradoxically, "exist."9¶ Regarding the Black position, some might ask why, after claims suc- cessfully made on the state by the Civil Rights Movement, do I insist on positing an operational analytic for cinema, film studies, and political theory that appears to be a dichotomous and essentialist pairing of Mas- ters and Slaves? In other words, why should we think of today's Blacks in the United States as Slaves and everyone else (with the exception of Indians) as Masters? One could answer these questions by demonstrat- ing how **nothing remotely approaching claims successfully made on the state has come to pass.** In other words, the election of a Black president aside, police brutality, mass incarceration, segregated and substandard schools and housing, astronomical rates of H I V infection, and the threat of being turned away en masse at the polls still constitute the lived expe- rience of Black life. But such empirically based rejoinders would lead us in the wrong direction; we would find ourselves on "solid" ground, which would only mystify, rather than clarify, the question. **We** would be **forced to appeal to "facts," the "historical record," and empirical markers of stasis and change**, all of which could be turned on their head with more of the same. Underlying such a downward spiral into sociology, political sci- ence, history, and public **policy debates would be the very rubric that I am calling into question: the grammar of suffering known as exploitation and alienation, the assumptive logic whereby subjective dispossession is arrived at in the calculations between those who sell labor power and those who acquire it.** The Black qua the worker. Orlando Patterson has already dispelled this faulty ontological grammar in Slavery and Social Death, where he demonstrates how and why work, or forced labor, is not a constituent element of slavery. Once the "solid" plank of "work" is removed from slavery, then the conceptually coherent notion of "claims¶ against the state"—**the proposition that the state and civil society are elastic enough to even contemplate the possibility of an emancipatory project for the Black position—disintegrates into thin air. The imaginary of the state and civil society is parasitic on the Middle Passage**. Put an- other way, **No slave, no world.** And, in addition, as Patterson argues, no slave is in the world.¶ If, as an ontological position, that is, as a grammar of suffering, **the Slave is not a laborer but an anti-Human, a position against which Hu- manity establishes, maintains, and renews its coherence, its corporeal in- tegrity;** if the Slave is, to borrow from Patterson, generally dishonored, perpetually open to gratuitous violence, and void of kinship structure, that is, having no relations that need be recognized, a being outside of re- lationality, then **our analysis cannot be approached through the rubric of gains or reversals in struggles with the state and civil society, not unless and until the interlocutor first explains how the Slave is of the world.** The onus is not on one who posits the Master/Slave dichotomy but on the one who argues there is a distinction between Slaveness and Blackness. How, when, and where did such a split occur? The woman at the gates of Columbia University awaits an answer.

#### Telling of this story through the calculative factual language of the law contaminates and destroys the story.

NourbeSe Philip 8 -- Canadian poet, novelist, and essayist

(Marlene, Zong!, Wesleyan University Press, p. 198-199, ISBN 978-0-8195-7169-4)

The story that cannot be told must not-tell itself in a language already contaminated, possibly irrevocably and fatally. I resist the seduction of trying to cleanse it through ordering techniques and practices, for the story must tell itself, even if it is a partial story; it must be allowed to be and not be. The half-tellings, and un-tellings force me to enter the zone of contamination to complete it; in so doing I risk being contaminated by the prescribed language of the law—by language in fact.¶ The basic tool in the study of law is case analysis. This process requires a careful sifting of the reported case to find the kernel of the legal principle at the heart of the decision —the ratio decidendi or simply the ratio. Having isolated that, all other opinion be- comes obiter dicta, informally referred to as dicta. Which is what the Africans on board the Zong become —dicta, footnotes, related to, but not, the ratio.¶ Caledon, Ontario I cannot say when I first conceive the idea but once it has taken hold I know that I must honor it. "Defend the dead." The Africans on board the Zong must be named. They will be ghostly footnotes floating below the text —"underwater ...a place of consequence"¶ Idea at heart of the footnotes in general is acknowledgement—someone else was here before—in Zong! footnote equals the footprint.¶ Footprints of the African on board the Zong.¶ On the "surface" the ratio of Gregson v. Gilbert was that "the evidence [did] not sup- port the statement of the loss made in the declaration;"21 in other-words, given the evidence presented to the court, the ship's owners had not satisfactorily proved that they needed to "jettison their cargo," that is, murder 150 African slaves.22 The "underwater" ratio appears to be that the law supersedes being, that being is not a constant in time, but can be changed by the law. The ratio at the heart of Zong!, however, is simply the story of be-ing which cannot, but must, be told. Through not-telling.

### Capitalism

#### All emancipatory discourses of modernity are predicated on the black’s grammar of suffering.

Wilderson ‘10

(Frank B, “Red, White, and Black-Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms”, pg 19-21, Frank B. Wilderson I I I is an associate professor of African American studies and drama at the University of California, Irvine.)

During the emergence of new ontological relations in the modern world, from the late Middle Ages through the 1500s, **many different kinds of people experienced slavery**. In other words, there have been times when **natal alienation, general dishonor, and gratuitous violence have turned**¶ 18 INTRODUCTION¶ individuals of myriad ethnicities and races **into beings who are socially dead**. **But** African, or more precisely **Black**ness, **refers to an individual who is by definition always already void of relationality**. Thus **modernity marks** the emergence of **a new ontology** because it **is an era in which an entire race appears**, people who, a priori, that is prior to the contingency of the "transgressive act" (such as losing a war or being convicted of a crime), stand **as socially dead** in relation to the rest of the world. This, I will argue, is as true for those who were herded onto the slave ships as it is for those who had no knowledge whatsoever of the coffles. In this period, chattel slavery, as a condition of ontology and not just as an event of experience, stuck to the African like Velcro. To the extent that we can think the essence of Whiteness and the essence of Blackness, we must think their essences through the structure of the Master/Slave relation. It should be clear by now that I am not only drawing a distinction between what is commonly thought of as the Master/Slave relation and the constituent elements of the Master/Slave relation,26 but I am also drawing a distinction between the experience of slavery (which anyone can be subjected to) and the ontology of slavery, which in modernity (the years 1300 to the present) becomes the singular purview of the Black. In this period, slavery is cathedralized. It "advances" from a word which describes a condition that anyone can be subjected to, to a word which reconfigures the African body into Black flesh. Far from being merely the experience of the African, slavery is now the Africans access to (or, more correctly, banishment from) ontology.¶ In their own ways, Spillers, a Black woman and cultural historian, and Eltis, a White historian of the transatlantic slave trade, make the similar points. First, they claim that the pre-Columbian period, or the late Middle Ages (1300-1500), was a moment in which Europe, the Arab world, and Asia found themselves at an ontological crossroads in society's ability to meditate on its own existence. Second, Spillers and Eltis ask whether the poor, convicts, vagrants, and beggars of any given society (French, German, Dutch, Arab, East Asian) should be condemned to a life of natal alienation. Should they have social death forced on them in lieu of real death (i.e., executions)? Should this form of chattel slavery be imposed on the internal poor, en masse—that is, should the scale of White slavery (to the extent that any one nation carried it out at all) become industrial?¶ INTRODUCTION 19¶ And, most important, should the progeny of the White slave be enslaved as well?¶ It took some time for this argument to unfold. Eltis suggests the argument ensued—depending on the country—from 1200 to the mid-i4oos (1413-23), and that, whereas it was easily and forthrightly settled in places like England and the Netherlands, in other countries like Portugal, parts of southern France, and parts of the Arab world, the question waxed and waned.¶ Again, what is important for us to glean from these historians is that the pre-Columbian period, the late Middle Ages, reveals no archive of debate on these three questions as they might be related to that massive group of black-skinned people south of the Sahara. Eltis suggests that there was indeed massive debate which ultimately led to Britain taking the lead in the abolition of slavery, but he reminds us that that debate did not have its roots in the late Middle Ages, the post-Columbian period of the 1500s or the Virginia colony period of the 1600s. It was, he asserts, an outgrowth of the mid- to late eighteenth-century emancipatory thrust— intra-Human disputes such as the French and American revolutions— that swept through Europe. But Eltis does not take his analysis further than this. Therefore, it is important that we not be swayed by his optimism about the Enlightenment and its subsequent abolitionist discourses. It is highly conceivable that **the discourse that elaborates the justification for freeing the slave is not the product of the Human being having suddenly and miraculously recognized the slave. Rather**, as Saidiya Hartman argues, **emancipatory discourses present themselves to us as further evidence of the Slave's fungibility**: "The figurative capacities of blackness enable white flights of fancy while increasing the likelihood of the captive's disappearance."27 First, the questions of Humanism were elaborated in contradistinction to the human void, to the African qua chattel (the 1200s to the end of the 1600s). Second, as the presence of Black chattel in the midst of exploited and unexploited Humans (workers and bosses, respectively) became a fact of the world, exploited **Humans** (in the throes of class conflict with unexploited Humans) **seized the image of the Slave as an enabling vehicle that animated the evolving discourses of their own emancipation, just as** unexploited **Humans had seized the flesh of the Slave to increase their profits**.¶ 20 INTRODUCTION¶ Without this gratuitous violence, a violence that marks everyone ex-perientially until the late Middle Ages when it starts to mark the Black onto logically, **the so-called great emancipatory discourses of modernity— Marxism, feminism, postcolonialism, sexual liberation, and the ecology movement—political discourses predicated on grammars of suffering and whose constituent elements are exploitation and alienation, might not have developed**.28 Chattel slavery did not simply reterritorialize the ontology of the African. It also created the Human out of culturally disparate entities from Europe to the East.¶ I am not suggesting that across the globe Humanism developed in the same way regardless of region or culture; what I am saying is that the late Middle Ages gave rise to an ontological category—an ensemble of common existential concerns—which made and continues to make possible both war and peace, conflict and resolution, between the disparate members of the human race, East and West. Senator Thomas Hart Benton intuited this notion of the existential commons when he wrote that though the "Yellow race" and its culture had been "torpid and stationary for thousands of years . . . [Whites and Asians] must talk together, and trade together, and marry together. Commerce is a great civilizer—social intercourse as great—and marriage greater."29 Eltis points out that as late as the seventeenth century, "prisoners taken in the course of European military action... could expect death if they were leaders, or banishment if they were deemed followers, but never enslavement.... Detention followed by prisoner exchanges or ransoming was common." "By the seventeenth century, enslavement of fellow Europeans was beyond the limits" of Humanism's existential commons, even in times of war.30 Slave status "was reserved for non-Christians. Even the latter group however . . . had some prospect of release in exchange for Christians held by rulers of Algiers, Tunis, and other Mediterranean Muslim powers."31 But though the practice of enslaving the vanquished was beyond the limit of wars among Western peoples and only practiced provisionally in East-West conflicts, the baseness of the option was not debated when it came to the African. **The race of Humanism** (White, Asian, South Asian, and Arab) **could not have produced itself without the simultaneous production of that walking destruction** which became **known as the Black**. Put another way, through chattel slavery the world gave birth and coherence to both its joys of domesticity and to its struggles of political discontent; and¶ INTRODUCTION 21¶ with these joys and struggles the **Human was born, but not before it murdered the Black, forging a symbiosis between the political ontology of Humanity and the social death of Blacks.**

#### Marxism and Gramsci never claim to help the standing of the Black intellectual in civil society, only hope that by solely helping whites, Blacks are eventually helped. This mindset retrenches the harms presented in the 1AC that the current system that protects those under the umbrella of “human” must be prioritized.

Wilderson ‘05

(Frank Wilderson, III, “Gramsci’s Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society?” Published in We Write January 2005 2(1), page 2)

Why interrogate Gramsci with the political predicament and desire of the Black(ened) subject position in the Western Hemisphere? Because The Prison Notebooks' intentionality, and general reception, lay claim to universal applicability. **Neither Gramsci nor his** spiritual **progenitors** in the form of scholars or activists **say that the** Gramscian **project sows the seeds of freedom for Whites only**. Instead, **they claim that** deep **within** the organicity of **the organic intellectual** **is the organic Black** intellectual, the organic **Chinese** intellectual, the organic **South American** intellectual **and so on**; **that though there are historical and cultural variances, there is a structural consistency** **which** elaborates all organic intellectuals and **undergirds all resistance**.¶ **Through what strategies does the Black subject destabilize** -- emerge as the unthought, and thus the scandal of -- **historical materialism**? How does the Black subject distort and expand marxist categories in ways, which create in the words of Hortense Spillers"a distended organizational calculus"? (Spillers Year 82) We could put the question the other way round: **How does the Black subject function** within the American Desiring machine **differently than the quintessential Gramscian subaltern, the worker?**

#### Marxism does not make any change for Black bodies. The only fundamental of Marxism is to democratize work and the workers.

Wilderson 05

(Frank Wilderson, III, “Gramsci’s Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society?” Published in We Write January 2005 2(1), page 1-2)

First, the Black American subject imposes a radical incoherence upon the assumptive logic of Gramscian discourse. In other words, s/he implies a scandal. Secondly, **the Black subject reveals Marxism's inability to think White supremacy as the base** and, in so doing, calls into question Marxism's claim to elaborate a comprehensive, or in the words of Antonio Gramsci, “decisive” antagonism. Stated another way: Gramscian **Marxism is able to imagine the subject which transforms** her/**himself into** a mass of **antagonistic identity formations**, formations **which can precipitate a crisis in wage slavery**, exploitation, **and/or hegemony**, **but** it **is asleep** at the wheel **when asked to provide** enabling **antagonisms toward unwaged slavery**, despotism, and/or terror. Finally, we begin to see how **marxism suffers from** a kind of **conceptual anxiety**: **a desire** for socialism on the other side of crisis -- a society which does away not with the category of worker, but with the imposition workers suffer under the approach of variable capital: in other words, the mark of its conceptual anxiety is in its desire **to democratize work** **and thus** help **keep** in place, insure the coherence of, Reformation and Enlightenment “foundational” values of productivity and progress. This is **a crowding-out scenario for other post- revolutionary possibilities**, i.e. idleness.

### Scriptocentrism

#### Scriptocentrism is a western idea that limits scholars and delegitimizes knowledge that is not gained through text.

Conquergood 02(Dwight, Performance Studies Interventions and Radical Research, pg 147)

In even stronger terms, **Raymond Williams challenged the class-based arrogance of scriptocentrism**, pointing to the “error” and “delusion” of **“highly educated” people** who are “so driven in on their reading” that “they **fail to notice that there are other forms of skilled, intelligent, creative activity” such as** “theatre” and “**active politics**.” This error “resembles that of the narrow reformer who supposes that farm labourers and village craftsmen were once uneducated, merely because they could not read.” He argued that “**the contempt” for performance and practical activity, “which is always latent in the highly literate, is a mark of the observer’s limits, not those of the activities themselves**” ([1958] 1983:309). Williams critiqued scholars for limiting their sources to written materials; I agree with Burke that scholarship is so skewed toward texts that **even when researchers do attend to extra linguistic human action and embodied events they construe them as texts to be read**. According to de Certeau, **this scriptocentrism is a hallmark of Western imperialism**. Posted above the gates of modernity, this sign: “‘Here only what is written is understood.’ Such is the internal law of that which has constituted itself as ‘Western’ [and ‘white’]” (1984:161).

#### Texts are typically a tool of the middle class and are used to subjugate the lower class.

Conquergood 02(Dwight, Performance Studies Interventions and Radical Research, pg 147)

Only **middle-class academics** could blithely **assume that all the world is a text** because **reading and writing are central to their everyday lives and occupational security. For many people throughout the world, however, particularly subaltern groups, texts are often inaccessible**, or threatening, charged with the regulatory powers of the state. **More often than not, subordinate people experience texts and the bureaucracy of literacy as instruments of control and displacement**, e.g., green cards, passports, arrest warrants, deportation orders—what de Certeau calls “intextuation”: “Every power, including the power of law, is written first of all on the backs of its subjects” (1984:140). Among the most oppressed people in the United States today are the “undocumented” immigrants, the so-called “illegal aliens,” known in the vernacular as the people “sin papeles,” the people without papers, *indocumentado/as*. They are illegal because they are not legible, they trouble “the writing machine of the law” (de Certeau 1984:141).

#### For many, texts only serve as tools to delegitimize those who don’t fit.

Conquergood 02(Dwight, Performance Studies Interventions and Radical Research, pg 147)

Only middle-class academics could blithely assume that all the world is a text because reading and writing are central to their everyday lives and occupational security. **For many people** throughout the world, however, particularly subaltern groups, **texts are** often inaccessible, or threatening, **charged with the regulatory powers of the state**. More often than not, subordinate **people experience texts and the bureaucracy of literacy as instruments of control and displacement**, e.g., green cards, passports, arrest warrants, deportation orders—what de Certeau calls “intextuation”: “**Every power**, including the power of law, **is written** first of all **on the backs of its subjects**” (1984:140). Among the most oppressed people in the United States today are the “**undocumented” immigrants**, the so-called “illegal aliens,” known in the vernacular as the people “sin papeles,” the people without papers, *indocumentado/as*. They are illegal because they are not legible, they **trouble “the writing machine of the law**” (de Certeau 1984:141).

#### Historically the literate have used literacy as a measure of legitimacy and the basic sign of intelligence.

Conquergood 02(Dwight, Performance Studies Interventions and Radical Research, pg 148)

Garifuna people, an **African-descended minority group, use the word** *gapencillitin*, **which means “people with pencil,” to refer to middle- and upper- class** members of the professional-managerial class, elites who approach life from an intellectual perspective. **They use the word** *mapencillitin*, literally “**people with- out pencil,” to refer to** rural and **working-class people**, “real folks” who approach life from a practitioner’s point of view.2 What is interesting about the Garifuna example is that **class stratification, related to differential knowledges, is articulated in terms of access to literacy**. The pencil draws the line between the haves and the have-nots. For Garifuna people, **the pencil is not a neutral instrument**; **it functions** metonymically as the **operative technology** of a complex political economy of knowledge, power, and the exclusions **upon which privilege is based**.

#### Law forbid black slaves from being taught literacy yet still denied legitimacy to other forms of expression and in doing so bolstered their power.

Conquergood 02(Dwight, Performance Studies Interventions and Radical Research, pg 148-149)

**Enslaved people were forbidden by law** in 19th-century America **to acquire literacy**. No wonder, then, that **Douglass**, a former enslaved person, still **acknowledged the** deeply felt **insights and** revelatory **power that come through the** embodied **experience of listening to communal singing**, the tones, cadence, vocal nuances, all the sensuous specificities of performance that overflow verbal content: “they were tones loud, long, and deep”

#### Complete exclusion and delegitimization of other medias is the problem not the text itself. \*\*(repeat card in framework)\*\*

Conquergood 02(Dwight, Performance Studies Interventions and Radical Research, pg 151)

Note that in Hurston’s account**, subordinate people read and write, as well as perform**. With her beautiful example of how a text can perform subversive work, she disrupts any simplistic dichotomy that would align texts with domination and performance with liberation. In Hurston’s example, **the white man researcher is a fool not because he values literacy, but because he valorized it to the exclusion of other media**, other modes of knowing. I want to be very clear about this point: **textocentrism—not texts—is the problem.**

#### Performance coupled with text provides the best form of knowledge.

Conquergood 02(Dwight, Performance Studies Interventions and Radical Research, pg 151)

The performance studies project makes its most radical intervention, I believe, **by embracing *both* written scholarship *and* creative work, papers and performances.** **We challenge the hegemony of the text** best by reconfiguring texts and performances in horizontal, metonymic tension**, not by replacing one hierarchy with another**, the romance of performance for the authority of the text. The “liminanorm” that Jon McKenzie identifies as the calling card of performance studies (2001:41) manifests itself most powerfully in the struggle to live betwixt and between theory and theatricality, paradigms and practices, critical reflection and creative accomplishment. **Performance studies brings this rare hybridity into the academy, a commingling of analytical and artistic ways of knowing that unsettles the institutional organization of knowledge** and disciplines.

### Anthro

#### No link- their definition of man excludes the slave

Jackson 13(Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, Professor at Northwestern, Carter G. Woodson Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Virginia. She is also an assistant professor of English at George Mason University., Feminist studies, issue 39.3, pg 2)//bp

Yet, I worry that to suggest a seamless, patrilineal link between poststructuralist criticism and posthumanist theory could poten- tially display a Eurocentric tendency to erase the parallel genealogies of thought that have anticipated, constituted, and disrupted these fields’ categories of analysis. For instance, fifteen years before Foucault’s publication of The Order of Things, Aimé Césaire, in Discourse on Colonialism, set before us an urgent task: **How might we resignify and revalue human- ity such that it breaks with the imperialist ontology and metaphysical essentialism of Enlightenment man?** **Césaire’s groundbreaking cri- tique was hastened by a wave of decolonial resistance that arguably provided the historical conditions of possibility for Foucault’s subse- quent analysis.** Like Césaire, **critics commonly associated with the theorization of race and colonialism,** such as Frantz Fanon and Sylvia Wynter, **anticipated and broadened the interrogation and critique of “man” by placing Western humanism in a broader field of gendered, sexual, racial, and colonial relations.** Their work, like that of Foucault, is similarly invested in challenging the epistemological authority of “man,” **but they also stress that “man’s” attempts to colonize the field of knowledge was, and continues to be, inextricably linked to the his- tory of Western imperialism.** **They maintain that the figure** “man” is not synonymous with “the human,” **but rather is a technology of slavery and colonialism that imposes its authority over “the univer- sal” through a racialized deployment of force.**

#### No link- Blacks were treated even worse than animals

Jackson 13(Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, Professor at Northwestern, Carter G. Woodson Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Virginia. She is also an assistant professor of English at George Mason University., Feminist studies, issue 39.3, pg 9)//bp

Like HumAnimal, Michael Lundblad’s The Birth of a Jungle: Animality¶ in Progressive-Era U.S. Literature and Culture grounds its arguments in the¶ close reading of (mostly) literary texts, engaging the works of Henry¶ James, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and Edgar Rice Burroughs. Lundblad¶ persuasively argues that **an analysis of** what he terms **the “discourse¶ of the jungle” is essential for our understanding of the convergence¶ of race and animality in the Progressive Era.** The “discourse¶ of the jungle” emerges at the intersection of Darwinism and Freudianism¶ (1). While Darwinian thought laid the groundwork for imagining¶ that the human was of “animal descent,” the popularization¶ of Freudian psychology and sociology made it common to interpret¶ human animality in a particular way: the purportedly observable¶ behavior of “real” animals comes to represent humanity’s “natural”¶ “animal” instincts. According to this view, humans were instinctually¶ “heterosexual in the name of reproduction and violent in the name of¶ survival” (4–5). **What was once seen as a betrayal of Protestant codes¶ of conduct was now, in the new Freudian framework, understood¶ as a failure to control one’s innate animal instincts or, in the case of¶ homosexuality, as a threat to Darwinian reproduction.**¶ According to Lundblad**, the discourse of the jungle provides an¶ understanding and a framework for the Progressive Era’s racist regulation¶ of exploitative behaviors in the form of eugenics, imperialist conquest,¶ labor exploitation, lynching, penal reform, and animal abuse**.¶ At a time when an understanding of human behavior was increasingly¶ reliant upon a construction of an “animal” human psyche, the¶ discourse of human animality bifurcated along racial lines. From¶ this insight emerges Lundblad’s most powerful and potentially fieldtransformative¶ intervention. **In the discourse of humane reform,¶** **white humans,** especially those with class privilege, were distinctive¶ in that they **had the capacity to restrain**, control, or repress theirZakiyyah Iman Jackson¶ “**animal instincts,” unlike black people** who were possessed by “savagery”¶ and “passions.” This racially bifurcated view ostensibly preempted¶ a racially neutral conception of human animality in the discourse¶ of humane reform. The black “savage” was placed below the¶ ranks of those that possessed animal instincts—white humans and¶ animals—even if the point of humane reform was to rise above one’s¶ animal instincts. According to this view, white society’s restraint and¶ progress in humane reform was a marker of evolutionary superiority;¶ conversely, **black people were not only inhumane but also displayed¶ a passion for and a delight in cruelty that was even absent in¶ the “lowest” animals**. Thus, at the moment when the conception of¶ “the human” was reorganized such that humanity was understood as¶ coincident with “the animal,” humane discourse relying on this new¶ understanding simultaneously reformulated blackness as inferior to¶ both “the human” and “the animal.”¶ Lundblad not only traces the racialized development of the jungle¶ as a discourse but also highlights cultural texts that resist its powerful¶ sway, demonstrating that this discourse is “more recent, complicated,¶ and significant” than the existing scholarship tends to suggest (2).

#### Turn- their alternative expands humanism

Jackson 13(Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, Professor at Northwestern, Carter G. Woodson Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Virginia. She is also an assistant professor of English at George Mason University., Feminist studies, issue 39.3, pgs 7-8)//bp

Much **current scholarship in the field of animal studies is in the midst of grappling with the implications of a powerful legacy—that of “animal rights**,” and Seshadri’s text expands and deepens a grow- ing critical consensus in the field that **justice should not and cannot be equated with liberal humanist investments in law and rights.** **Within the field of animal studies, prominent animal rights advocates** such as Tom Regan and Peter Singer18 **have been heavily critiqued for taking for granted the subject of ethics —namely, they have been criticized for both reinscribing a faulty liberal humanist conception of human subjectivity** and elevating this flawed construction to the status of an ethical standard. **Such a standard has been thoroughly dismantled** by a range of interdisciplinary critics, in particular post- humanists and scholars in disability studies, who allege that Singer’s and Regan’s philosophical frameworks actually undercut an appreci- ation for the difference they claim to respect.19 In other words, rather than undermining liberal humanism’s hold on the ethical imagina- tion, the animal rights framework expands and deepens it. Further- ing this line of critique, Seshadri’s text disarticulates an equation between law and justice. In HumAnimal, ethics are no longer beholden to law, and ethical possibility lies beyond the boundaries of law. More- over, **as the measure of ethical right and belonging, “the human” standard is revealed as fundamental to law’s injustice for both people of color and animals.**

#### The Aff resolves the impacts of the kritik

Jackson 13(Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, Professor at Northwestern, Carter G. Woodson Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Virginia. She is also an assistant professor of English at George Mason University., Feminist studies, issue 39.3, pg 4)//bp

Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that during the 1990s some scholars of race expressed ambivalence about the stakes and promise of calls to become “post” modern and “post” human. Some believed, like Africana philosopher Lewis Gordon, that black people must be humanists for the “obvious” reason that “the dominant group can ‘give up’ humanism for the simple fact that their humanity is presumed,” whereas “other communities have struggled too long for the human- istic prize.”8 However, I would argue that **these, and similar, sentiments have been largely misunderstood**. It is not that **critics such as Gordon simply sought admission into the normative category of “the human”**; **rather, they attempted to transform the category from within, and in fact they hoped to effect a greater understanding and appreciation of the transformative potential of Africana thought more generally. The hope was not that black people would gain admittance into the fraternity of Man—**the aim was to displace the order of Man alto- gether. **Thus, what they aspired to achieve was not the extension of liberal humanism to those enslaved and colonized, but rather a trans- formation within humanism.**

#### Any methodology to solving environmental issues requires racial analysis, the aff is a prior question

Merchant 10

(Carolyn Merchant, PhD History of Science University of Wisconsin at Madison, Professor of Environmental History, Philosophy, and Ethics, June 19, 2010, Environmental history: Shades of Darkness, Vol 8 num 3) K.A.

**IN THE HIDDEN WOUND, published in 1989, environmentalist Wendell Berry writes that ‘the psychic wound of racism has resulted inevitably in wounds in the land, the country itself.**’ When he began writing the book in 1968 during the civil rights movement, he tells us, ‘I was t**rying to establish the outlines of an understanding of myself, in regard to what was fated to be the continuing crisis of my life, the crisis of racial awareness.”** Berry's book is an effort to come to terms with the environmental history of race as reﬂected in his family's history as slaveholders, in his own childhood on a Kentucky farm in the segregated South, and in his adult life as a conservationist and environmentalist.‘ in recent years, environmental historians too have reflected on the crisis of racial awareness for the field and collectively have begun the process of writing an environmental history of race. **The negative connections between wilderness and race, cities and race, toxics and race, and their reversal in environmental justice have been explored by numerous scholars who have analyzed the ideology and practice of environmental racism.** Throughout the country many courses now include multicultural perspectives on the environment.‘ We have learned important new ways to think about the relationship between race and environmental history. **These include the following perspectives: - Slavery and soil degradation are interlinked systems of exploitation, and deep-seated connections exist between the enslavement of human bodies and the enslavement of the land. Blacks resisted that enslavement in complex ways that maintained African culture and created unique African American ways of living on the land.**‘ - Native Americans were removed from the lands they had managed for centuries, not only during settlement. as is well known, but during the creation of the national parks and national forests. Indians resisted these moves in an effort to maintain autonomy and access to resources.‘ - **American lndians and African Americans perceived wilderness in ways that differed markedly from those of white Americans**! - A ‘coincidental order of injustice”-in Jeffrey Romm's phrase—reigned in post-Civil War America as emancipated blacks in the South were expected to pay for land with wages at the same time that free lands taken from Indians were being promoted to whites via the Homestead Act and other land acts.‘ - **African Americans bore the brunt of early forms of environmental pollution and disease as whites fled urban areas to the new streetcar suburbs. Black neighborhoods became toxic dumps and black bodies became toxic sites. Out of such experiences arose African American environmental activism in the Progressive Bra and the environmental justice movement of the late twentieth century**.’ All of this work is an auspicious beginning to compiling an environmental history of race. But **we need to do much more in integrating multicultural history and environmental justice into our courses and frameworks.** We especially need more research on the roles of African Americans in the southern and western U.S. environment and in early urbanization and more research on Asian and Hispanic practices and perceptions of nature.‘ I hope to contribute to this growing body of literature by looking at views held about American Indians and African Americans in environmental history. **if an environmental justice perspective is to permeate the field of environmental history. we need to be aware of the racial ideas of the contributions of the founders of the conservation and environmental movements. I shall argue that whiteness and blackness were redefined environmentally in ways that reinforced institutional racism.**

### Eco Feminism

#### Blackness is a prior question to gender issues

Wilderson 10

(Frank Wilderson III,  full professor of Drama and African American studies at the [University of California, Irvine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Irvine). He received his BA in government and philosophy from [Dartmouth College](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dartmouth_College), his Masters in Fine Arts from [Columbia University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_University) and his PhD in Rhetoric and Film Studies from the [University of California, Berkeley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Berkeley). “*Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms”*. Durham, NC: Duke UP pg 137)//bp

#### For Black people, the structure of essential antagonisms cannot be at- tributed, as Fortunati attributes it, to the illusory nature of the reproduc- tive sphere (laws like STEP incarcerate "Black home" with scare quotes) where the woman's subordination to patriarchal capital is brought on by the illusory mystification of her mother-to-child, wife-to-husband re- lations (mystified and illusory because, as Fortunati would have it, the objective conditions of the woman's oppression stem from the fact that her waged relation to capital is hidden by capital). On the contrary, the ontological core of Black suffering is not lost in a labyrinth of production posing as a reproduction posing as natural motherhood. Nor, at the core of Black suffering, is the Black woman's (or man's) ontology erroneously gendered by patriarchal castration fears and masculine desire as in an Oedipal drama. For the production of Black suffering, as Spillers notes, no such hall of mirrors is necessary: "Gender, or sex-role assignation or the clear differentiation of sexual stuff, sustained elsewhere in the culture [i.e., available to White and non-Black women], does not emerge for the African-American female in this historic instance [an "instance" which Spiller reminds us spans from the Middle Passage to the Moynihan Re- port to the present] except indirectly, except as a way to reinforce through the process of birthing 'the reproduction of the relations of production.'" Spillers goes on to acknowledge the symmetry between the Black woman and Fortunati's working-class mother/wife, in that the birthing process is indeed one of the first steps in the reproduction of the relations of pro- duction. In other words, like White mothers, Black mothers, if they can be called mothers, can also help Black babies reproduce both themselves and the values and behavior patterns necessary to maintain civil society's system of hierarchy. But Spillers steadfastly insists that although Black "mothers" indeed experience the same "naturalized" attachments to their children (and to their partners) as mothers of the working class, the Black woman cannot "claim her child."33 Black children do not belong to Black mothers (or fathers), just as Black men and women don't belong to, and thus cannot claim, each other: flesh is always already claimed by direct relations of force.

#### Any methodology to solving environmental issues requires racial analysis, the aff is a prior question

Merchant 10

(Carolyn Merchant, PhD History of Science University of Wisconsin at Madison, Professor of Environmental History, Philosophy, and Ethics, June 19, 2010, Environmental history: Shades of Darkness, Vol 8 num 3) K.A.

**IN THE HIDDEN WOUND, published in 1989, environmentalist Wendell Berry writes that ‘the psychic wound of racism has resulted inevitably in wounds in the land, the country itself.**’ When he began writing the book in 1968 during the civil rights movement, he tells us, ‘I was t**rying to establish the outlines of an understanding of myself, in regard to what was fated to be the continuing crisis of my life, the crisis of racial awareness.”** Berry's book is an effort to come to terms with the environmental history of race as reﬂected in his family's history as slaveholders, in his own childhood on a Kentucky farm in the segregated South, and in his adult life as a conservationist and environmentalist.‘ in recent years, environmental historians too have reflected on the crisis of racial awareness for the field and collectively have begun the process of writing an environmental history of race. **The negative connections between wilderness and race, cities and race, toxics and race, and their reversal in environmental justice have been explored by numerous scholars who have analyzed the ideology and practice of environmental racism.** Throughout the country many courses now include multicultural perspectives on the environment.‘ We have learned important new ways to think about the relationship between race and environmental history. **These include the following perspectives: - Slavery and soil degradation are interlinked systems of exploitation, and deep-seated connections exist between the enslavement of human bodies and the enslavement of the land. Blacks resisted that enslavement in complex ways that maintained African culture and created unique African American ways of living on the land.**‘ - Native Americans were removed from the lands they had managed for centuries, not only during settlement. as is well known, but during the creation of the national parks and national forests. Indians resisted these moves in an effort to maintain autonomy and access to resources.‘ - **American lndians and African Americans perceived wilderness in ways that differed markedly from those of white Americans**! - A ‘coincidental order of injustice”-in Jeffrey Romm's phrase—reigned in post-Civil War America as emancipated blacks in the South were expected to pay for land with wages at the same time that free lands taken from Indians were being promoted to whites via the Homestead Act and other land acts.‘ - **African Americans bore the brunt of early forms of environmental pollution and disease as whites fled urban areas to the new streetcar suburbs. Black neighborhoods became toxic dumps and black bodies became toxic sites. Out of such experiences arose African American environmental activism in the Progressive Bra and the environmental justice movement of the late twentieth century**.’ All of this work is an auspicious beginning to compiling an environmental history of race. But **we need to do much more in integrating multicultural history and environmental justice into our courses and frameworks.** We especially need more research on the roles of African Americans in the southern and western U.S. environment and in early urbanization and more research on Asian and Hispanic practices and perceptions of nature.‘ I hope to contribute to this growing body of literature by looking at views held about American Indians and African Americans in environmental history. **if an environmental justice perspective is to permeate the field of environmental history. we need to be aware of the racial ideas of the contributions of the founders of the conservation and environmental movements. I shall argue that whiteness and blackness were redefined environmentally in ways that reinforced institutional racism.**

#### Feminism isn’t the question or has the correlation between ecology, the question is racism and how it wasn’t until this was revealed the ecological movement became apparent.

Taylor 97

(Dorceta E., PhD Professor of Sociology, Program director for Minority Environmental Leadership development initiative" 1997 Women of Color, Environmental Justice, and Ecofeminism" in Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature pp.38-81)

**People of color have brought the issues of environmental racism, environmental equity, environmental justice, environmental blackmail, and toxic terrorism to the forefront of the environmental debate in recent year.  Until people of color made these issues commonplace in environmental circles, the terms, the concepts they embody, and the questions arising from them were not used, explored, or asked** by traditional, well-established environmental groups, deep ecologists, social ecologists, bioregionalists, ecofeminists, or Greens.  **Environmental activists** (**even the more radical ones** and those who were critical of traditional environmental activism) **ignored or paid little attention to the processes, practices, and policies that led to grave inequities, to charges of environmental racism, and to a call for environmental justice**.  For a long time environmentalists did not recognize that certain issues and activities had disproportionate negative impacts on communities of color**; if they were aware of the impacts, they paid no attention to them**.  **This occurred because many in the environmental movement failed to perceive and define issues affecting communities of color as environmental issues, did not consider people of color to be part of the constituency they served, or did not see themselves engaging in environmental dialogues and struggles with such communitie**s.  If and when they considered people of color, these people were an afterthought deserving only marginal consideration.  **Many environmentalists were too concerned with other issues to move issues affecting primarily people of color to the top of their agendas.**

### Feminism

#### Blackness is a prior question to gender issues

Wilderson 10

(Frank Wilderson III,  full professor of Drama and African American studies at the [University of California, Irvine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Irvine). He received his BA in government and philosophy from [Dartmouth College](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dartmouth_College), his Masters in Fine Arts from [Columbia University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Columbia_University) and his PhD in Rhetoric and Film Studies from the [University of California, Berkeley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Berkeley). “*Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms”*. Durham, NC: Duke UP pg 137)//bp

For Black people, the structure of essential antagonisms cannot be at- tributed, as Fortunati attributes it, to the illusory nature of the reproduc- tive sphere (laws like STEP incarcerate "Black home" with scare quotes) where the woman's subordination to patriarchal capital is brought on by the illusory mystification of her mother-to-child, wife-to-husband re- lations (mystified and illusory because, as Fortunati would have it, the objective conditions of the woman's oppression stem from the fact that her waged relation to capital is hidden by capital). On the contrary, the ontological core of Black suffering is not lost in a labyrinth of production posing as a reproduction posing as natural motherhood. Nor, at the core of Black suffering, is the Black woman's (or man's) ontology erroneously gendered by patriarchal castration fears and masculine desire as in an Oedipal drama. For the production of Black suffering, as Spillers notes, no such hall of mirrors is necessary: "Gender, or sex-role assignation or the clear differentiation of sexual stuff, sustained elsewhere in the culture [i.e., available to White and non-Black women], does not emerge for the African-American female in this historic instance [an "instance" which Spiller reminds us spans from the Middle Passage to the Moynihan Re- port to the present] except indirectly, except as a way to reinforce through the process of birthing 'the reproduction of the relations of production.'" Spillers goes on to acknowledge the symmetry between the Black woman and Fortunati's working-class mother/wife, in that the birthing process is indeed one of the first steps in the reproduction of the relations of pro- duction. In other words, like White mothers, Black mothers, if they can be called mothers, can also help Black babies reproduce both themselves and the values and behavior patterns necessary to maintain civil society's system of hierarchy. But Spillers steadfastly insists that although Black "mothers" indeed experience the same "naturalized" attachments to their children (and to their partners) as mothers of the working class, the Black woman cannot "claim her child."33 Black children do not belong to Black mothers (or fathers), just as Black men and women don't belong to, and thus cannot claim, each other: flesh is always already claimed by direct relations of force.

#### Feminism isn’t the question or has the correlation between ecology, the question is racism and how it wasn’t until this was revealed the ecological movement became apparent.

Taylor 97

(Dorceta E., PhD Professor of Sociology, Program director for Minority Environmental Leadership development initiative" 1997 Women of Color, Environmental Justice, and Ecofeminism" in Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature pp.38-81)  
**People of color have brought the issues of environmental racism, environmental equity, environmental justice, environmental blackmail, and toxic terrorism to the forefront of the environmental debate in recent year.  Until people of color made these issues commonplace in environmental circles, the terms, the concepts they embody, and the questions arising from them were not used, explored, or asked** by traditional, well-established environmental groups, deep ecologists, social ecologists, bioregionalists, ecofeminists, or Greens.  **Environmental activists** (**even the more radical ones** and those who were critical of traditional environmental activism) **ignored or paid little attention to the processes, practices, and policies that led to grave inequities, to charges of environmental racism, and to a call for environmental justice**.  For a long time environmentalists did not recognize that certain issues and activities had disproportionate negative impacts on communities of color**; if they were aware of the impacts, they paid no attention to them**.  **This occurred because many in the environmental movement failed to perceive and define issues affecting communities of color as environmental issues, did not consider people of color to be part of the constituency they served, or did not see themselves engaging in environmental dialogues and struggles with such communitie**s.  If and when they considered people of color, these people were an afterthought deserving only marginal consideration.  **Many environmentalists were too concerned with other issues to move issues affecting primarily people of color to the top of their agendas.**

### Framework

#### The role of the ballot is to vote for the team that best deconstructs the civil society.

#### In running framework the neg tries to order events that cannot be ordered, therefore repeating the violence of the middle passage.

NourbeSe Philip 8 -- Canadian poet, novelist, and essayist

I deeply distrust this tool I work with —language. It is a distrust rooted in certain historical events that are all of a piece with the events that took place on the *Zong.* **The language in which those events took place promulgated the non-being of African peoples**, and I distrust its **order**, which **hides disorder**; its **logic hid**ing the **illogic and** its **rationality**, which is simultaneously irrational. However, **if language is to** do what it must do, which is **communicate**, these qualities —order, logic, rationality —**the rules of grammar must be present**. And, **as it is with language, so too with the law. Exceptions to these requirements exist in religious or spiritual communication with nonhuman forces** such as gods or supra-human beings, in **puns, parables, and,** of course, **poetry. In all these instances humans push against the boundary of language by engaging in language that** often **is neither rational, logical, predictable or ordered**. It is sometimes even noncomprehensible, as in the religious practice of speaking in tongues, which fatally subverts the very purpose of language. Poetry comes the closest to this latter type of communication —is, indeed, rooted in it —not only in pushing against the boundaries of language, but in the need for each poet to speak in his or her own tongue. So, in *She Tries Her Tongue...*the imperative forme was to move beyond representation of what the New World experience was —even one filtered through my own imagination and knowing, for that would have meant working entirely within the order of logic, rationality, and predictability; **it would have meant ordering an experience which was disordered (and cannot ever be ordered), irrational, illogical and unpredictable; it would have meant doing a second violence, this time to the memory of an already violent experience.**

#### Complete exclusion and delegitimization of other medias is the problem not the text itself.

Conquergood 02(Dwight, Performance Studies Interventions and Radical Research, pg 151)

Note that in Hurston’s account**, subordinate people read and write, as well as perform**. With her beautiful example of how a text can perform subversive work, she disrupts any simplistic dichotomy that would align texts with domination and performance with liberation. In Hurston’s example, **the white man researcher is a fool not because he values literacy, but because he valorized it to the exclusion of other media**, other modes of knowing. I want to be very clear about this point: **textocentrism—not texts—is the problem.**

# Negative

## **QUARE K**

### 1NC

#### The affs focus on blackness and the African American experience forecloses a more expansive Black Kritik footed in materiality

#### Using the Black Atlantic through Queer studies allows us to explore the societal structures the White mind built both historically and materially.

Tinsley 08 Ph.D.: Comparative Literature, University of California, Berkeley Associate Professor of English at the University of Minnesota (2008, Omise’eke, GLQ: a journal of lesbian and gay studies vol. 14 number 2-3, Black Atlantic, Queer Atlantic, 211-212)

The key to making black queer sense of such self-pieces is not turning to race-, class-, or geographically unmarked models of sexuality and humanity — based in the European Enlightenment philosophy that justified slavery in the first place — but tracing as carefully as possible the particular, specific, always marked contours, the contested beachscapes of African diaspora histories of gender and sexuality. So in the black queer time and place of the door of no return, fluid desire is neither purely metaphor nor purely luxury. Instead — like the blue embrace of two bodies of water — its connections and crosscurrents look to speak through and beyond the washed lad-ing, the multiply effaced identities of the Middle Passage. Finally, Brand’s *ruttiers* chart how the marooned come to sail as maroons, continually stealing back thespace where they live. The long-navigated Atlantic tells us that, like Brand’s resurrection of the marooned, queer Africana studies must explore what it means to conceive our field historically and materially. Like Lara and Brand, as we navigate the postmodern we must look for the fissures that show how the anti- and ante-modern continue to configure black queer broken-and-wholeness. At the same time, the meaningfully multiblued Atlantic tells us that we must continue to navigate our field metaphorically. As Frantz Fanon contended in *The Wretched of the Earth*, metaphors provide

conceptual bridges between the lived and the possible that use language queerly to map other roads of becoming. My point is never that we should strip theory of watery metaphors but that we should return to the materiality of water to make its metaphors mean more complexly, shaking off settling into frozen figures. The territory-less Atlantic also tells us that, like the song between Micaela and *la Mar*, black queer studies must speak transnationally. When black becomes only African American, black queer theory becomes insular; as the crosscurrents between

Atlantic and Caribbean, Atlantic and Mediterranean, Atlantic and Indian Ocean are richest in marine life, so they will be richest in depth of theorizing. Most simply, our challenge is to be like the ocean: spreading outward, running through bays and fingers, while remaining heavy, stinging, a force against our hands.

#### B.  Impact- Failure to ground discourse in materiality ensure Black Queer erasure.

JOHNSON 2K6 [Patrick E., “professor of African American studies and performance studies at Northwestern University, “Quare Studies or (almost) everything I know about Queer Studies I learned from my grandmother” in Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology

**Theories of performance**, as opposed to theories of performativity**, also take into account the context and historical moment of performance. We need to account for the temporal and spatial specificity of performance not only to frame its existence**, but also to name the ways in which it signifies. Such an analysis would acknowledge the discursivity of subjects and would also unfix the discursively constituted subject as always already a pawn of power. Although many queer theorists appropriate Foucault to substantiate the imperialism of power, **Foucault himself acknowledges that discourse has the potential to disrupt power:  “Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, anymore than silences are. We must make allowances for complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be** both an instrument and effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, **a point of resistance**and a starting point for an opposing strategy. **Discourse transmit and produces power; it reinforces it , but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. Although people of color, myself included, may not have theorized our lives in Foucault’s terms, we have used discourse in subversive ways because it was necessary for our survival. Failure to ground discourse in materiality is to privilege the position of those whose subjectivity and agency, outside the realm of gender and sexuality, have never been subjugated. The tendency of many lesbians, bisexuals, gays, and transgendered people of color is to unite around racial identity at a moment when their subjectivity is already under erasure.**

### 2NC

#### Link Extension: the Affs story of commodification misses the boat- the middle passage is a site of black and queer resistance

#### The relationship with blackness and black queers shows the truth of inequality and exploitation

Tinsley 08 --- Ph.D.: Comparative Literature, University of California, Berkeley Associate Professor of English at the University of Minnesota (2008, Omise’eke, GLQ: a journal of lesbian and gay studies vol. 14 number 2-3, , Black Atlantic, Queer Atlantic, 192)

During the Middle Passage, as colonial chronicles, oral tradition, and anthropological studies tell us, captive African women created erotic bonds with other women in the sex-segregated holds, and captive African men created bonds with other men. In so doing, they resisted the commodification of their bought and sold bodies by feeling and feeling for their co-occupants on these ships. I evoke this history now not to claim the slave ship as the origin of the black queer Atlantic. The ocean obscures all origins, and neither ship nor Atlantic can be a place of origin. Not of blackness, though perhaps Africans first became negros and negers during involuntary sea transport; not of queerness, though perhaps some Africans were first intimate with same-sex shipmates then. Instead, in relationship to blackness, queerness, and black queerness, the Atlantic is the site of what the anthropologist Kale Fajardo calls “crosscurrents.” Oceans and seas are important sites for differently situated people. Indigenous Peoples, fisherpeople, seafarers, sailors, tourists, workers, and athletes. Oceans and seas are sites of inequality and exploitation — resource extraction, pollution, militarization, atomic testing, and genocide. At the same time, oceans and seas are sites of beauty and pleasure — solitude, sensuality, desire, and resistance. Oceanic and maritime realms are also spaces of transnational and diasporic communities, heterogeneous trajectories of globalizations, and other racial, gender, class, and sexual formations.

#### ALT extension: sexuality is key to our understanding of the middle passage

#### Using sensuality shows the representation of discourse with race. The aff presents a stick straight approach, with no sensuality at all.

Tinsley 08 --- Ph.D.: Comparative Literature, University of California, Berkeley Associate Professor of English at the University of Minnesota (2008, Omise’eke, GLQ: a journal of lesbian and gay studies vol. 14 number 2-3, Black Atlantic, Queer Atlantic, 196)

Appearing and disappearing as briefly as the ship, sexuality also surfaces in Gilroy’s concluding discussion of music in the black Atlantic. But here again, sexuality (like seafaring) is not so much an embodied experience as a metaphor. Sex, it turns out, is almost as omnipresent in black Atlantic storytelling as salt water on an island. Initially, Gilroy places narratives of sexuality in competition with histories of race, as he notes that “conflictual representation of sexuality has vied with the discourse of racial emancipation to constitute the inner core of black expressive cultures.”11 But later, tension between these two melts away as Gilroy concludes that, actually, talking about sex is another way to talk about race. Black love stories in popular songs and elsewhere, he writes, are “narratives of love and loss [that] transcode other forms of yearning and mourning associated with histories of dispersal and exile.”12 Sex is not about sex, then; it is about pain. While the Atlantic — rather than remain primarily a site of diasporic trauma — is optimistically metaphorized as space that expands the horizons of black consciousness, sex is pessimistically metaphorized as a sorrow song that never yields deep pleasure. Gilroy’s black Atlantic seems equally resistant to victimizing and sexualizing its mariners, as if both impulses were too much part of colonial discourse to warrant sustained attention.

## SAND K

### 1NC

#### link: the aff’s focus on the ocean is heteronormative and romantic- prevents us from the differences and inequalities of situated subjects- the sand shows the true mess of slavery

#### Water has become overly romanticized as a solution that wipes things clean in our society. However, sand is the referent that can bring us back to the messy reality of our society, and pull back memories.

Agard-Jones in 12

(Vanessa Agard-Jones, “What the Sands Remember”, GLQ 18:2–3 DOI 10.1215/10642684-1472917 © 2012 by Duke University Press, pages 325-327)

I ask that we **consider sand as a repository both of feeling and of experience, of affect and of history**, in the Caribbean region. Here **sand links us unswervingly to place, to a particular landscape that bears traces of both connection and loss**. I imag- ine it to be “**saturated” with the presence of people who have walked on and carried it,** **but simultaneously “empty” of the** archaeological and **forensic traces that would testify to that presence. If water is the romantic metaphor** that has irredeemably made its place in Caribbean and African diasporic studies, **sand**¶ **is the less embraced referent that returns us to the body’s messy realities**. **Water** washes, **makes clean**. **Sand gets inside our bodies**, our things, **in ways at once inconvenient and intrusive. It smoothes rough edges but also irritates**, sticking to our bodies’ folds and fissures. In this essay I ask **what it might mean to pay close attention to sand, this object that exists at the point of nature’s hesitation between land and sea**. **Heeding a call** by Natasha Omise’eke Tinsley **that** in black queer studies our “**metaphors be materially informed; [that] they be internally discon-tinuous, allowing for differences and inequalities between situated subjects**,” I propose that **we experiment with sand in addition to water as a tool for that metaphorical thinking, to track fleeting references** **to same-sex desire and gender transgression in Martinique**.2¶ This essay’s aim is to bring together two strands of inquiry, first, into the meaning of what Makeda Silvera once (in)famously called the “invisibility of (Afro-) Caribbean lesbians [and gays]” and the endurance of narratives about their relationship to a presumably “silent” archive, and second, into the rapport between tropes of invisibility and the physical landscapes that people who might be called “queer” inhabit in the Caribbean region.3 One of my concerns is the persistent bias toward what is imagined to be diaspora’s radical potential both in academic figurations of “queer” lives in the Caribbean and in activist narratives about what it might take to make those lives qualitatively “better.” While queer of color theorists have been doing quite a lot of powerful thinking about Caribbean queerness in relation to diaspora, in this essay I want to insist on a deeply local framing of these questions and to argue for a fine-pointed scholarly interest not particularly in movement, but in place and emplacement.4¶ **Sand emerges as a compelling metaphor here**, as a repository **from which we might read traces of gender and sexual alterity on the landscape**.5 **Ever in motion, yet connected to particular places, sand both holds geological memories in its elemental structure and calls forth referential memories through its color, feel between the fingers, and quality of grain. Today’s sands are yesterday’s moun- tains, coral reefs, and outcroppings of stone. Each grain possesses a geological lineage that links sand to a place and to its history, and each grain also carries a symbolic association that indexes that history as well.** In her groundbreaking essay on the politics of erotic autonomy and decolonization in the Bahamas, M. Jacqui Alexander asks “how . . . sexuality and geography collide,” and as dias- pora continues to be idealized as the Caribbean’s cutting edge, the fate of those who do not or cannot move in this vaunted age of mobility — people attached to local geographies — often drops out of analytic purview.6 I **think with sand** here **to understand** that collision, **to both question and document how people** with access¶ to only limited forms of mobility, **like those of the shifting sands, live their genders and sexualities within the region.**

#### The sand is a key site of sex in the class based resistance

#### Sand is a space in which people can find the identities that they share, where people can make social connections they otherwise would be unable to access.

Agard-Jones in 12

(Vanessa Agard-Jones, “What the Sands Remember”, GLQ 18:2–3 DOI 10.1215/10642684-1472917 © 2012 by Duke University Press, pages 336-337)

What makes Anse Moustique magic for Guillaume is the kind of shared space that it offers to the people who go there. This kind of experience is a critical dimension of what might be called “queer” culture on the island. The beach is so far out of the way that **those who find themselves on its sands are a self- selecting bunch.** **The men** there **do not usually call themselves gay—instead of embracing an identity, they identify with an affective state**—they often say they are chaud (hot) — in a hot period, needing release. **In addition to the space, this is the “spirit” (esprit) that they share, a shifting terrain of desire much like the sands that heat and cool throughout the day.** Many, like Guillaume, have girlfriends and wives on other parts of the island and are able to make the long journey out to the beach only a few times a month. As Lionel, another of my interlocutors, said to me, On vient pour koker — c’est ça le but. (We come to fuck — that’s the goal.) But other things happen, too, at Anse Moustique. Men come to know and recognize each other, an important, but also potentially risky process on an island as small as Martinique, where propinquity feeds the gossip mill. Men who have come by bus and on foot often leave with others who have cars. Drinks and joints are brought and shared. Men play and bathe and rest in the sea. **The magic is sexual but also social**, equally about what Guillaume described as the “best blow job of [his] life” as **about the kinds of connections, however tenuous, that the space offers for its users**.¶ I think of Anse Moustique as another example of what Delany describes in his powerful set of essays Times Square Red, Times Square Blue, where he recounts the kinds of relationships that men built in Manhattan’s porn theaters in the 1970s and 1980s. Refusing an easy nostalgia, Delany writes, “Were the porn theaters romantic? Not at all. But because of the people who used them, they were humane and functional, fulfilling needs that most of our society does not yet know how to acknowledge.”44 For Delany, **these were places that fulfilled sexual needs, but also social ones — allowing for a kind of cross-class contact that was otherwise rare in his daily life.**

#### 1nc sub point b. impact exploring the ocean threw the sand is key to understand queer desire and gender transgression

#### Sand is a constant presence in memories, history and place. We need to turn to sand as a metaphor instead of the ocean to engage fleeting presences that we would not be able to otherwise access.

Agard-Jones in 12

(Vanessa Agard-Jones, “What the Sands Remember”, GLQ 18:2–3 DOI 10.1215/10642684-1472917 © 2012 by Duke University Press, pafes 339-340)

Working from a different angle, **in my attempt to pay close attention to place, this** essay **invokes the most fine-grained element** — quite literally — of the¶place where I work: **the sand**. From the sand on the beaches of Saint-Pierre, to the morning-after sand in Karine’s ass, **sand is everywhere** in Martinique (as it is throughout the region). **It is, of course, on the beaches, but it is also carried on the wind and on our bodies.** It ends up on the kitchen floor, in the backseat of the car, in the bottom of my handbag, and in all manner of bodily orifices. While we have work that inspires and elucidates using metaphors of the mangrove and of the sea in Caribbean cultural studies, the sand has received no such attention. But **what can the sand tell us**?¶ Nearly everywhere on earth, sand is principally made up of one element — in some places silica, in others limestone. Ninety percent of a grain is almost always just one of those two elements. But the other 10 percent is the percentage with a difference — the percentage that, in its difference, matters — the percent- age that can tell us something about the history of a place. In Saint-Pierre and its surroundings, that variable 10 percent is made up of the basalt that makes the sands black. In Sainte-Anne, there is no geological marker in those grains, but they hold something all the same. **While the sand’s referents are far from concrete, they provide a model for one way to understand the memory of same-sex desire and gender transgression on the island—as diffuse yet somehow omnipresent. “Queerness,” then, retains a kind of oblique permanence in Martinique that has resonance both in the structure of the sand and in the connections made on the island’s shores**. **Rather than invoke ideas about absence and invisibility** as the condition of same-sex desiring and gender-transgressing people, **turning to sand as a metaphor for the repository of memory may help our analyses engage with more fine-grained and ephemeral presences than our usual archives would allow.**

### 2NC

#### Mpx Extension: sand is an important sight of resistance

#### Sand cannot lose it’s history-even through erosion and displacement, sand still holds experiences and memories through a commitment to movement in place.

Agard-Jones in 12

(Vanessa Agard-Jones, “What the Sands Remember”, GLQ 18:2–3 DOI 10.1215/10642684-1472917 © 2012 by Duke University Press, pafes 338-339)

After the parties are over, and the blankets, empty bottles, and sound sys- tem cleared away, what reminds us of the importance of this site, for so many people? **On that beach, the sand that people dance and lie down on holds some- thing of those experiences — perhaps not materially, but metaphysically**. Think- ing about how we might understand this phenomenon, the second question that has beset me since my first solitary visit to that cove is this: what could an empty place tell me, an ethnographer, about same-sex desire on the island? Perhaps **it is in the sands that I have my answer. The sand tracks this presence in a place where the archive is shallow, and where the ravages of the plantation, then later of the colony, and even worse still, of the salinated air, has meant the slow erosion of all things putatively concrete. Sand is born of, and speaks of, that erosion**. On a beach where people live and love and dance together, there can be no definitive record. **But** far from V. S. Naipaul’s condemnation of the Caribbean as a site of “ruination,” **the sand, even in its erosion, has its own integrity and retains its own history**. The sand’s memory is “**a resolute commitment to those with whom . . . we are still dancing**,” **a diffuse and oblique archive of movement in place, of loving** on a local scale.

## Speaking for others K

### 1nc

#### The 1AC doesn’t promote the individual resistance that it advocates – the 1ac is isolated from the subject through elitist ivory tower rhetoric masking imperialist oppression

Fernando Herrera Calderón, 2/2012, assistant professor of history at university of Iowa,

[A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA: “Contesting the State from the Ivory Tower: Student Power, Dirty War and the Urban Guerrilla Experience in Mexico, 1965-1982”, <http://conservancy.umn.edu/bitstream/122744/1/Calderon_umn_0130E_12574.pdf>] [MN]

One of the fundamental divisions that would plague the student left developed, between one faction that sought radical social change through non-violent means and another that believed social justice could only be achieved through armed revolution. These struggles had emerged already from student militant debates of the 1950s and 1960s. The radical faction remained committee to supporting popular mobilizations but hesitated to fully engulf themselves in struggles where their social position impeded them from being taken seriously as agents of change. Intervening in the day-to-day decision making of popular mobilizations had the potential of creating tensions between popular groups and students, who were already perceived as being out of touch with reality and having a short track record of working with the masses and leaving their Ivory Tower sanctuary. Anti-revolutionaries also argued that most students had never ventured beyond the city limits and were dubious that the rural population was radical enough to follow their revolutionary leadership, much less allow them to join. By focusing on the drawbacks of aligning with popular groups, many students were convinced to remain simply as supporters or spectators, and not active participants. To further reinforce this notion, the rise of right-wing student groups had a major influence in luring radical students to prioritize the university over popular political struggles.97 With these forces, the nascent student-revolutionary left’s presence in revolutionary movements was eclipsed in the first part of the 1960s

#### The detached academic perspective taken by the aff is self-serving and exploitative – it co-opts the individual resistance movements they advocate

JOSEE JOHNSTON and JAMES GOODMAN, 3/2006, Johnston: Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, Canada Goodman: Research Initiative on International Activism, University of Technology Sydney, Australia [Globalizations: “Hope and Activism in the Ivory Tower: Freirean Lessons for Critical Globalization Research”, EBSCO, <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=9c44382e-1bac-48d5-aae1-507b8c048ab6%40sessionmgr110&vid=2&hid=122>] [MN]

At a closed-door conference in Vancouver, a roomful of academics researching globalization struggled with the idea of working with non-academic ‘outsiders’ in the research process. Certainly we were committed to the idea of research for social change. Clearly, we had moved out of the ivory tower and believed in the necessity of struggling against neo-liberal globalism. Obviously academics needed to keep issues of positionality, privilege, and power at the forefront of analysis. But if these positions were self-evident, why such a spirited debate? The group comprised sixteen academics from four countries working on a project evaluating the sustainability of neo-liberal globalism. The disagreement centred on whether to allow social activists to participate in a conference for the joint project. On one side of the debate were those who believed that academics must engage with those most affected by neo-liberal globalism. The other side argued that the demand for academic engagement was dangerously complicit with New Right arguments for ‘applied’ research. These academics defended universities as sites of independent, professional inquiry, which possess their own legitimacy independent of social causes and outside motivations. The discussion was sharply polarized between engagement and detachment, and the choice seemed unavoidable. Since detachment is the opposite of involvement, the more detached the researcher is the less involved they can afford to be. Worse, detachment and involvement both contain important contradictions. Involvement can compromise a researchers’ objectivity, yet the detached academic study of social movements can be self-serving and exploitative, prioritizing professional advancement over the urgent needs identified by social movements. Absolute detachment requires hard and fast distinctions between researchers ‘inside’ the academy investigating society out in the ‘field’. The ‘objective’ academic becomes a superhuman figure, able to deny their situatedness and report without bias. This is fine for the less modest amongst us, but feminist philosophers (among others) have revealed such a perspective to be completely mythical. At the same time complete objectivity remains a myth, complete involvement in an issue can wipe out critical thought, transforming the academic into a reporter or functionary.

### EXT. Speaking for others

#### Speaking from a position of privilege props up power relations—the speaker relies on the assumption that less privileged cannot speak for them selves

Nontsasa **Nako** (“Possessing the voice of the other: African women and the ‘Crisis of Representation’ in Alice Walker’s possessing Secret of Joy” Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies, 20**01**)

In her essay, “The Problem of Speaking for Others,” Linda Alcoff identifies two widely accepted claims relating to speaking for others (1994). The first one concerns the relationship between location and speech; that the position from which one speaks affects the meaning of his or her speech. Therefore where one speaks from “has an epistemically significant impact on that speaker’s claim and can serve either to authorize or disauthorize one’s speech”(Alcoff 1994, 287). This is perhaps the reason why most critics tend to leave their identities and locations visible. One example is Chandra Mohanty in her introduction to a volume of essays by Third World women, where she writes: “I [also] write from my own particular political, historical, and intellectual location as a third world feminist trained in the U.S., interested in questions of culture, knowledge production, and activism in an international context” (1991, 3).Whether such acts of self-identification are always possible is debatable, as it is now commonly understood that identities are fluid and always shifting. But it is clear that such acts are necessary, because for instance, in Mohanty’s case, by foregrounding her position within the category Third World women she ensures that the meaning of what she says is not separated from the conditions which produced it. She also acknowledges the difference within Third World women, and this anticipates her definition of Third World women as “imagined communities of women with divergent histories and social locations”(Mohanty 1991, 4).The second claim that Alcoff identifies is that power relations make it dangerous for a privileged person to speak for the less privileged because that often reinforces the oppression of the latter since the privileged person is more likely to be listened to. And when a privileged person speaks for the less privileged, she is assuming either that the other cannot do so or she can confer legitimacy on their position. And such acts, do “nothing to disrupt the discursive hierarchies that operate in public spaces” (Ibid).

#### Speaking for others oppresses them—we must stop the impulse to speak to allow the organic intellectual to rise up

Lauren **Marino** (published author in the Malacester Journal of Philosophy, Volume 14, Issue 1, Spring 20**05**. “Speaking for Others”)

What then is the solution? I agree with bell hooks that the oppressed must celebrate their position on the margins. The oppressed should not try to move into the center but appreciate their counterculture. The oppressed must produce intellectuals so that the dominated can speak to the dominating. The idea goes back to Antonio Gramsci’s concept of the organic intellectual.7 The elites are indoctrinated in the ruling ideology and have an investment in the current order. No matter how progressive their politics may be, the elite will always be the elite. Their investment in the current social order precludes offers of true systemic change. Gramsci writes of the need for the working class to develop its own intellectuals who are organically tied to their class. This argument is similar to hooks’ argument. The margin must produce organic intellectuals. It might be thought that these organic intellectuals should translate between language games. But as hooks points out, using “the oppressor’s language” is not adequate because it cannot articulate the experience of the oppressed. Yet, it is the only language game the oppressing can play. Organic intellectuals affect the center from the margins if they are able to incorporate multiple voices in the texts they create. The goal of the organic intellectual according to hooks is to “identify the spaces where we begin a process of revision” to create a counter-ideology.8 Hooks relates this agency to language. “Language is also a place of struggle.”9 The counterculture can produce a counter-language, which is able to produce a new language to mediate between the margins and the center. Necessarily the new game must include portions of both old language games or no one will understand it. It must use old understandings to create new meanings. These counter-languages can function as the intermediary language games that the oppressed and the elites can be initiated simultaneously. A new language game must be created. A good example of this is Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech. He used concepts of freedom and democracy familiar to the center to explain the experience of the oppressed within in the mainstream language game, as well as created new metaphors and linguistic form, i.e. the preacher’s sermon, to bring the voice of the oppressed and the oppressors into a realm of communication. (bell hooks uses the preachers sermon form in her refrain ‘language is also a place of struggle’).10 One famous metaphor is freedom as a bounced check to African Americans. This created a new understanding of the situation. It worked between the language of oppression understood by African Americans and the center’s understanding of freedom and the promises of democracy. King was able to include multiple voices, building a bridge between the margin and the center. The conclusion of hooks is that the margin can be more than a place of oppression and alienation. It can be “a site of radical possibility, a space of resistance,” that is not open to those in the center. It is the space to produce counter-hegemonic culture that the organic intellectual is looking for. The oppressed can retell their story, and if we accept Rorty’s argument that the self is contingent, the oppressed create themselves in the process**. To speak for the oppressed is to silence them.** Moreover, in their absence of voice, we define them. We can define them in many ways, but they will always be a “they” and not an “us.” They will be the other. We must have faith in the margins to produce new language games to communicate with us.

#### A retreat from the practice of speaking for others allows for receptive listening without sacrificing political effectively

Linda Martín **Alcoff** (Department of Philosophy at Syracuse University. “The Problem of Speaking For Others” Cultural Critique Winter 1991-**92**, pp. 5-32.)

First I want to consider the argument that the very formulation of the problem with speaking for others involves a retrograde, metaphysically insupportable essentialism that assumes one can read off the truth and meaning of what one says straight from the discursive context. Let's call this response the "Charge of Reductionism", because it argues that a sort of reductionist theory of justification (or evaluation) is entailed by premises (1) and (2). Such a reductionist theory might, for example, reduce evaluation to a political assessment of the speaker's location where that location is seen as an insurmountable essence that fixes one, as if one's feet are superglued to a spot on the sidewalk. For instance, after I vehemently defended Barbara Christian's article, "The Race for Theory," a male friend who had a different evaluation of the piece couldn't help raising the possibility of whether a sort of apologetics structured my response, motivated by a desire to valorize African American writing against all odds. His question in effect raised the issue of the reductionist/essentialist theory of justification I just described. I, too, would reject reductionist theories of justification and essentialist accounts of what it means to have a location. To say that location bears on meaning and truth is not the same as saying that location determines meaning and truth. And location is not a fixed essence absolutely authorizing one's speech in the way that God's favor absolutely authorized the speech of Moses. Location and positionality should not be conceived as one-dimensional or static, but as multiple and with varying degrees of mobility.[13](http://www.alcoff.com/content/speaothers.html#footnote13) What it means, then, to speak from or within a group and/or a location is immensely complex. To the extent that location is not a fixed essence, and to the extent that there is an uneasy, underdetermined, and contested relationship between location on the one hand and meaning and truth on the other, we cannot reduce evaluation of meaning and truth to a simple identification of the speaker's location. Neither Premise (1) nor Premise (2) entail reductionism or essentialism. They argue for the relevance of location, not its singular power of determination, and they are non-committal on how to construe the metaphysics of location. While the "Charge of Reductionism" response has been popular among academic theorists, what I call the "Retreat" response has been popular among some sections of the U.S. feminist movement. This response is simply to retreat from all practices of speaking for; it asserts that one can only know one's own narrow individual experience and one's "own truth" and thus that one can never make claims beyond this. This response is motivated in part by the desire to recognize difference and different priorities, without organizing these differences into hierarchies.Now, sometimes I think this is the proper response to the problem of speaking for others, depending on who is making it. We certainly want to encourage a more receptive listening on the part of the discursively privileged and to discourage presumptuous and oppressive practices of speaking for. And the desire to retreat sometimes results from the desire to engage in political work but without practicing what might be called discursive imperialism. But a retreat from speaking for will not result in an increase in receptive listening in all cases; it may result merely in a retreat into a narcissistic yuppie lifestyle in which a privileged person takes no responsibility for her society whatsoever. She may even feel justified in exploiting her privileged capacity for personal happiness at the expense of others on the grounds that she has no alternative. \*The major problem with such a retreat is that it significantly undercuts the possibility of political effectivity. There are numerous examples of the practice of speaking for others which have been politically efficacious in advancing the needs of those spoken for, from Rigoberta Menchu to Edward Said and Steven Biko. Menchu's efforts to speak for the 33 Indian communities facing genocide in Guatemala have helped to raise money for the revolution and bring pressure against the Guatemalan and U.S. governments who have committed the massacres in collusion. The point is not that for some speakers the danger of speaking for others does not arise, but that in some cases certain political effects can be garnered in no other way. Joyce Trebilcot's version of the retreat response, which I mentioned at the outset of this essay, raises other issues. She agrees that an absolute prohibition of speaking for would undermine political effectiveness, and therefore says that she will avoid speaking for others only within her lesbian feminist community. So it might be argued that the retreat from speaking for others can be maintained without sacrificing political effectivity if it is restricted to particular discursive spaces. Why might one advocate such a partial retreat? Given that interpretations and meanings are discursive constructions made by embodied speakers, Trebilcot worries that attempting to persuade or speak for another will cut off that person's ability or willingness to engage in the constructive act of developing meaning. Since no embodied speaker can produce more than a partial account, and since the process of producing meaning is necessarily collective, everyone's account within a specified community needs to be encouraged.

## South African Focus Counterplan

#### The affirmative’s focus on the Middle Passage and the role of the West is constructing modernity-this forecloses the two-ocean consciousness of resistance centered around South Africa and the Indian Ocean.

Baderoon 09

(Gabeba Baderoon, “The African Oceans—Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture” Research in African Literatures, Volume 40, Number 4, Winter 2009, pp. 89-107 (Article) Published by Indiana University Press DOI: 10.1353/ral.0.0200, pages 91-92)

But this absence is weighted and meaningful, and it signals something too, because, in fact, the sea is all around. To the Khoi-San, Table Mountain is Hoerik- wagga, “the mountain that rises from the sea.” Cape Town is a city on the pen- insula, a piece of land projecting into water. **If we turn to face the water, what do we see**? I propose in this paper that **an “alternative modernity” made by slaves in the Cape becomes visible through the theme of the sea**. Following C. L. R. James’s assertion that in the Atlantic world, “slaves become the first modern people” (cited in Hofmeyr 5), a careful reading of the image of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in colonial and contemporary South African texts can recover evidence of the subjectivities of slaves and enserfed indigenous people.¶ How does this slave-made modernity become visible through the theme of the sea? I argue below that such **a modernity is recoverable by looking** obliquely **at the culture of the powerful** and probing it for the subsumed histories of slave presence and agency. **The** two African **oceans play a critical role in this process of recovery**. In a major review of the theme of the oceans in South African literature and culture, African literature scholar Isabel Hofmeyr observes that “the Atlantic seaboard [is] the site for the emergence of capitalist modernity as a transnational system” and that we may **see “the** Indian **Ocean as the site per excellence of**¶ **‘alternative modernities**”’ (13). My approach here is not to shift the focus from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean in South African narratives about slavery, but to attend to both sites. In this vision, both **the** Atlantic and the Indian **Oceans are the oceans of middle passage, but also of cosmology, memory, and desire, tracked in the movement, language, and culture of enslaved and dominated people.** I argue in this article that **the descendents of slaves and serfs in South Africa made a new place where the two African oceans meet**.¶ If Paul **Gilroy’s conception of the Black Atlantic leaves Africa largely untouched** (Hofmeyr 6)**, due to its own slave culture, a South African view of the Black Atlantic recovers a memory of loss, as slaves are transported from Asia and Africa to the Americas** (Da Costa and Davids 3), **but also of return, exemplified by the return of Sarah Baartman’s body from France in 2002 to be buried in South Africa** (see Abrahams). I discuss a further example of this dual vision of the Atlantic found in the poetry collection Castaway (1999) below. In addition, I explore the Indian Ocean through the register of the private, and through the novel Unconfessed (2006) and the poetry collection Imprendehora (2009). By **focusing** **on representations of the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans in recent South African literature** and art, I trace in this article **the signs of alternative modernities gener- ated among enslaved** and enserfed **people in South Africa through what I term a**¶ **“two-ocean” consciousness.** By this, I mean **a modernity crafted outside the dominant order of the slave-**¶ **owning society at the Cape, and therefore largely invisible to it**, or, if visible, a slave modernity. Such a modernity takes various forms within an aesthetic regime of the picturesque. The tradition represented by the paintings alluded to above organizes the Cape landscape to render indigenous and enslaved people as marginalized but compliant with colonial desires. Slaves, known as Malays, were portrayed through a longstanding tradition as submissive, skilled, and reliable (Silva 141), while indigenous people who resisted Dutch conscription were described as¶ “idle” (Coetzee 28). The tradition of portraying the picturesque and submissive “Malay” generated an image of slavery at the Cape as “mild” in comparison to¶¶ the new world (Keegan 16). To overlook the brutality of slavery would therefore be to cede to the picturesque discourse of portraying slaves as complicit with the system that dehumanized them. Instead, following Fredric Jameson’s observation that “[h]istory is what hurts” (102), I **trace signs of slave and indigenous resistance through** marginalized and despised **modernities at the Cape**. Such disparaged forms of modernity at the Cape are evident in the labeling of Khoi-San resistance to Dutch conscription to labor in the settlement as “idleness” (Coetzee 28); in the slave-created creole language, Afrikaans, that was dismissed as a “kombuis taal,” or kitchen language (though one that was later appropriated by Afrikaans nation- alists resisting British colonial rule), and in the racialized contempt of European travel writers in accounts of the physically intertwined lives of Dutch settlers and their slaves (Ribeiro 40).

#### Exploring the ocean from the South African perspective allows us to draw links between the Atlantic and the Indian oceans.

Baderoon 09

(Gabeba Baderoon, “The African Oceans—Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture” Research in African Literatures, Volume 40, Number 4, Winter 2009, pp. 89-107 (Article) Published by Indiana University Press DOI: 10.1353/ral.0.0200, pages 93-94)

The camera **move**s **away from the body and pull**s **back to show the expanse of ocean**. A thin strip of land becomes visible in the distance. Home and Away draws comfort from neither Morocco nor Spain. Neither landmass labels itself, nor gives the solace of familiarity. Each is strange, each strip of land is strangely similar to the other; each is near, and far. The certainties of place, of nationality, of identity dissipate.¶ Home and Away embodies a complex view of the sea. If we take the lesson of the video to look from the sea to the land in South Africa, **what do the** two **oceans tell us? Cape Town**, the birthplace of Berni Searle, **is said to be the place where the Atlantic and Indian Oceans meet**. I contend that **they tell us about history**. The Atlantic and the Indian Oceans do not actually meet at Cape Point, the southernmost part of the Cape Peninsula on the False Bay, but at Cape Agulhas, four hours to the east. The name for False Bay—false because of its duplicitous calm and violent, unpredictable storms—alerts us that **the sea is an ambiguous theme**.¶ As a result of the spice trade, **a crucial link between the African oceans was slavery**. The first slaves at the Cape Colony were brought by the Dutch West India Company from Guinea and Angola on Africa’s west coast (Westra and Amstrong 5). The Atlantic was also the route of traffic in goods and slaves from Africa to Europe, which was the path taken by Sarah Baartman, the woman known as the¶ “Hottentot Venus” to Europe (see Abrahams). **In memory, art, and literature, the** connection between slavery and the Atlantic **Oceans in South Africa take**s **many forms**. Here, I **consider not only memories of crossing the oceans, but what it is like to live** next to them**, from them, in the art and literature of South Africa**.¶ **Where does one find the sea in South African literature and art**? Recent writ- ing has **envisage**d **the sea through themes of memory and intimacy**. **The South African poet** Mxolisi **Nyezwa writes of the sea as memory “heavy inside us.**” (62). In his poem “Walking,” from the collection Song Trials, the speaker reveals a¶ charged nearness to the sea: “i see the unstable dark sea, furious/ and on my back, my spine, the vertebral sky” (18). **In the poem the weight of the ocean orients the speaker’s body**, but the roiling water and sky also oppress him, as the “furious” ocean maps itself onto his body. **Ocean, sky and body are intimate and continuous**. In this way the poem suggests that **the individual relation to the sea is weighted with history**.¶ In the poetry collections Castaway and Imprendehora, the South African poet Yvette Christianse portrays the history of the island of St. Helena in the southern Atlantic through fractured narratives about its famous exiles like Napoleon, but¶ also by tracing the life of her grandmother, a grandchild of enslaved St. Helenans.

#### And, turn-Slavery is bound by both the Atlantic and Indian Ocean; focusing on only the Atlantic forecloses stories of resistance. Focusing from a South African perspective allows us to hear these stories of resistance.

Baderoon 09

(Gabeba Baderoon, “The African Oceans—Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture” Research in African Literatures, Volume 40, Number 4, Winter 2009, pp. 89-107 (Article) Published by Indiana University Press DOI: 10.1353/ral.0.0200, pages 95)

The sea plays a crucial role inUnconfessed. When the novel opens in 1823, Sila has been imprisoned by the colonial authorities for the murder of her son Baro. Incarcerated on Robben Island, the prison island in the Atlantic that also later housed Nelson Mandela, Sila looks out on the sea, and in the scenes of moving across the water to Robben Island from the city, Unconfessed gives her a deadly¶ “middle passage” during which she and her daughter almost drown: “I came out of that water a woman who lost too many things,” she confides to the ghost of her dead son (42). The sea in this vision is a “Cape of Tears, Cape of Death, Cape of Struggles,” whose contagion spreads inland (66).¶ Here, **the sea embodies the cruelty of** **slavery**, through which Sila’s freedom is stolen successive times. We learn that her freedom had been granted by her former owner, Hendrina Jansen, but the latter’s will, in which this freedom was given, was stolen by Jansen’s son, and thus Sila was sold onward from farm to farm, until she arrived in Cape Town. This portrayal of the ugliness of the passage of slaves across the sea is a notable development in the aesthetic history of the Cape, where the history of slavery has in the past been subsumed behind a depiction of leisure and beauty.¶ In other parts of the novel, however, **the sea offers something else** to Sila. Looking at **the sea**, she has a vision:¶ I am a small boat bobbing just there off Cape Town. . . . I have come to pick up Hester and her babies. She waked into the water with her children so that they would escape this country. But cruelty of cruelties, she and one child were pulled free of the water. . . . Kom, Hester. I am your boat. . . . We are bound for the place where sun and sky hide a gate that only we will be let through. Come, Hester. (76)¶ Here, **the sea is an “escape” from “this country.” The Atlantic that imprisons** Sila on Robben Island **also promises to release her from slavery** **by carrying** her **memories back to** Mozambique, her **place of origin** **in another ocean, the Indian Ocean.** **Slavery binds these two bodies of water, but the oceans are also a connecting tissue to memories of a life before and outside of slavery.**

#### The pivot to exploring both the Indian and Atlantic intersectionality allows us to break from the western dominated histories the aff fixates on. The 1AC normativizes the Atlantic.

Samuelson 13 (Meg, Professor at the University of Cape Town, Sea Changes, Dark Tides and Littoral States: Oceans and Coastlines in Post-apartheid South African Narratives, Alternation Special Edition 6 (2013) 9 – 28, ISSN 1023-1757, pg. 11-12)

Evoking the sea as surface over which human history advances, a number of post-apartheid novels revisit Cape Town‟s origins as „tavern of the seas‟ and „oceanic crossroads‟ within the imperial network of the Dutch East India Company (Ward 2003). On this historical stage they re-enact the encounter between autochthon and seafarer, while shifting from the conceptual dominance of the „black Atlantic‟ (Gilroy 1993) to a re-articulation of South Africa at the intersection of Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds. The imaginative purchase of the Atlantic Ocean remains palpable in South African letters; but increasing attention is being paid to the nation‟s other flanking ocean, and the diverse elsewheres to which it connects, producing in the process new geopolitical and cultural imaginings. This sea change enables us to „relativize the Atlantic‟ model that, as Isabel Hofmeyr (2010: 721) notes, has become overly „normative‟ in southern African studies, leading to particular conceptual occlusions. No longer exclusively fixated on the Euro-American dominated and driven histories that have produced the Atlantic world, it allows for a critical reorientations from which to begin reading what some are describing as the „post-American‟ world (Zackaria 2011) or „Asian century‟ (Kaplan 2010). While providing an illuminating vantage point on the emergent, this sea change also urges re-readings of earlier work previously engaged through the analytic lens of the „black Atlantic‟, which re-emerge as negotiating a worldliness poised or pivoting between Atlantic and Indian Ocean arenas. A compelling example is provided by Peter Abrahams‟s Tell Freedom (1954). Explicit in its Atlantic references and modes of redress and to date read within that rubric, Tell Freedom also surfaces various Indian Ocean entanglements, not least in the figures of Abrahams‟s parents – an Ethiopian seaman and a „member of the Cape Coloured community‟ produced in „the Cape of Storms ... where a half-way house to the East‟ was established (1954: 10 - 11) – and most powerfully in its final sequence, in which the autobiographical protagonist wades into the Indian Ocean off the shores of Durban one night, nearly drowning in its currents before he embarks by ship the next day on his journey to „tell freedom‟.

#### The Indian Ocean explored along with the Atlantic re-imagines the role of the ocean. The black water of the Indian Ocean opens new ways of understanding.

Samuelson 13 (Meg, Professor at the University of Cape Town, Sea Changes, Dark Tides and Littoral States: Oceans and Coastlines in Post-apartheid South African Narratives, Alternation Special Edition 6 (2013) 9 – 28, ISSN 1023-1757, pg. 10-11)

A restored sense of connection in the wake of the exceptional state of the land a-part is one of the notable sea changes of the post-apartheid order; others are conveyed in the dark tides that transport and haunt the post- apartheid imagination. This dark tide bespeaks also the meeting along South African shores of the „black Atlantic‟ and the „black water‟ („kala pani‟) of the Indian Ocean: re-imagined at the site of their imbrications, the nation takes on new conceptual forms, or reanimates earlier ones abandoned under the urgencies of apartheid, while past structures of oppression and displacement, or memories thereof, seep across the temporal rupture posited in the „post‟ into a disavowing present.¶ Conjugating local and global in expressions of a new post-apartheid worldliness, many narratives reassert the sea‟s social function as a transport surface connecting distant and dispersed landmasses, or evoke the oceanic ontology of connectedness (cf. Mack 2011: 37). Others plumb the ocean depths in search of metaphors of literariness or conceive of it as housing memory – as an alternative archive of the variety imagined by the St Lucian poet, Derek Walcott. Walcott‟s famous formulation – „the sea is history‟ (1986) – refuses the binary of historical land versus ahistorical ocean that informs the conception of the sea as smooth surface that, in the wake of Hugo Grotius‟s mare liberum treatise, imagines it lying outside of human sociality and external to human law: a vast, boundless void (cf. Mack 2011: 16; Steinberg 2001: 14). The reclamation of the sea as a location of human history can, however, deny or repress other ways of reading it. As Philip Steinberg reminds us, though certainly a „socially constructed space‟, the ocean „is also a material space of nature‟ (2001: 209). Walcott‟s refusal is accordingly extended beyond the category of the human in engagements with littoral zones as sites of anti-dualist thinking (cf. Martin 2005), or in the pantheon of sea-creatures that populate post-apartheid fiction and demand a reading of the ocean as living presence. Insisting that the emergent „blue cultural studies‟ be like the ocean itself tinted „green‟, such narratives dive beneath the sea as surface of travel and/or reflective mirror to find in its depths far more than an archive of human history. At the same time, while the black sea is rendered a sign of ecological crisis, the dark tides that muddy the littoral zone and the murky waters of the deep – a region that „has withheld its secrets more obstinately than any other‟ (Carson 1961:n.p.) – summon ways of knowing that accommodate the „strange‟: the mystery abjected and repressed by the (early to post) enlightenment rationality that docked on South African shores during the long colonial encounter.

**The affirmations sole focus on the Atlantic Ocean leads to tunnel vision and the neglect of the Indian Ocean.**

**Desai 10**

(Gaurav, Oceans Connect: The Indian Ocean and African Identities, pg 715-716)

In drawing attention to the voyages of the *Sultanah* and the *Alabama*, I aim to do at least two things. First, I want to suggest that North American readers should have a direct inter­est in the histories and cultures of the Indian Ocean since their own histories are implicated in it. The dominant tendency in North Amer­ican research on Africa and its diaspora is to gravitate toward the connections between western Africa and the New World across the Atlantic. While there is good reason to do so, one shouldn’t assume that no commerce between the Americas and the world of the Indian Ocean took place; slaves, for instance, were transported from Mozambique to Bra­zil (Newitt). Consider this irony of the Salem trade connections: slave labor brought from Africa to the United States helped produce cotton that was manufactured into so­called *amerikani* cloth, which was shipped by Sa­lem merchants to Zanzibar for trade. In Zan­zibar the cloth was subject to a five percent customs duty, levied on behalf of the sultan by his Indian customs officer, Jairam Sewji. With other Indian merchants, Sewji also ar­ranged for the acquisition of exports to the United States from the region. Sewji, who paid an annual fee to the sultan for running the customs house, accrued significant profits as customs master. He and other Indian trad­ers used some of their profits not only to fund (primarily Arab) trade caravans into the in­terior but also to supply logistical and finan­ cial support to European explorers who were mapping the interior. The Arab trade cara­vans were engaged in the acquisition and sale of copal and ivory, as well as slaves, in Zanzi­bar and in other ports of the Indian Ocean. The logistical support of Europeans, however, exposed a European audience to the cruelties of the slave trade, leading Britain to put for­ ward to the sultan various treaties curtailing slavery. In the long term, this resulted in the economic downfall of the Omani sultanate, which drew much of its exchequer on the cus­toms and profits associated with the trade. My second aim in telling the story is to challenge the dominant reading of Africa as having somehow escaped or bypassed the processes of globalization. This reading echoes the empty historical slot assigned to Africa most famously by Hegel and disserves the complex negotiations of commerce, iden­tity, and the advent of modernity performed by a multitude of actors on the African stage. Indeed, along with an increasing number of my Africanist colleagues, I argue that Afri­can globalization must be thought of in the context of a long history.5 The role of Africa in the Indian Ocean trade system is cru­cial to interrogating established readings of Africa. We are often inundated with argu­ments about the rise of European modernity as a case of Western exceptionalism. But the work of K. N. Chaudhuri, André Wink, Michael N. Pearson, Edward Alpers, Himanshu Prabha Ray, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Janet Abu­Lughod, Andre Gunder Frank, and many other fellow travelers has mapped in considerable detail the Indian Ocean trading system that existed before Western economic supremacy. This body of research provides an excellent complement to the existing archive of knowledge on cross ­Atlantic and Medi­terranean encounters. While I sympathize with Indian Ocean scholars who ask us not to read the Indian Ocean through an Atlan­tic lens, I have nevertheless chosen to preface my comments with the *Sultanah* story, since it highlights the fact that despite the differ­ences between the histories and cultures of the Indian Ocean and those of the Atlantic, as asserted in the memorable title of a Ford Foundation project held at Duke University in the late nineties, “Oceans Connect.”

## K links

### Cap Links

#### Best link ever- you can switch “capitalism” in the tag to technology and use it as a Heidegger link if you want, the card still applies

#### Capitalism’s at the root cause of the modernization of “undeveloped countries”, in addition this destruction of other cultures will continue as long as capitalism continues

Parry 6(Benita Parry, Professor at Warwick University. Her books are Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination (1972), republished with a new preface by Verso 1998, Conrad and Imperialism: Ideological Boundaries and Visionary Frontiers (1984) and Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique (2004). She is the author of journal articles and essays on Edward Said, South African writing, Tayeb Salih, the Institutional- isation of Postcolonial Studies.

"The Presence of the Past in Peripheral Modernities." *Beyond the Black Atlantic: Relocating Modernization and Technology*. Ed. Walter Goebel. London: Routledge, 2006. Pgs 19-20)//bp

**Materialist theorists of modernity** have **proposed a conjunctural under- standing of the connection between capitalism’s economic and technologi- cal modernization**, the ideological **and** psychological process of **modernity**, and aesthetic modernism, the last credited with providing a vocabulary for the lived experience of historical transformation.27 This linkage can be loosened by observing the startling instances of modernist art in locations where modernization was incipient or retarded (Ireland, Latin America) or by arguing that modernity should be understood as constituting an institutional shift whereby absolutist or feudal or hierarchical regimes were dethroned, rather than as the awareness of existing within a time of accelerated historical change. But **if we want to retain the notion of mod- ernity as an existential category as well as a marker of epochal transition**, as self-conscious reﬂection on a present **perceived as constituting a passage** from a past and a reach toward another time, then **the grounding of the phenomenon in the mode of production demystiﬁes attempts at attributing modernity to the gifts or the luck of the capitalist homelands.** **It** also both **preempts a restricted view on modernity as a wholly cultural event, and opens the way to looking at aesthetic production as rooted in the empirical reality** and received discourse from which it breaks free, even as it preserves the overwhelming presence of its social determinations.28 Fredric Jameson’s essay on ‘Third World Literature in the Era of Multi- national Capitalism’ (1986)29 oﬀered a way of reading non-metropolitan literatures that is properly attentive to **the ‘crisis of representation’ in cul- tures that were and are in various distinct ways ‘locked in a life-and-death struggle with ﬁrst-world cultural imperialism** . . . **a cultural struggle that is** itself **a reﬂection of the economic situation** of such areas **in their penetra- tion by various stages of capitalism**, or as it is sometimes euphemistically termed, of modernization’.30 **In the ﬁctions of societies that are radically diﬀerent from those of** the **metropoles** **the primordial crime of capitalism is exposed**: not so much wage labour as such, or the ravages of the money form, or the remorseless and impersonal rhythms of the market, but rather **this primal dis- placement of the older forms of collective life from a land now seized and privatized. It is the oldest of modern tragedies**, visited on the Native Americans yesterday, on the Palestinian today.31 **The proposition that the violent arrival of capitalism in societies adher- ing to archaic customs and traditional values made for the ‘generic dis- continuities**’ of the literatures subsequently produced**, is elaborated** in another essay also addressing the Third World cultural situation, ‘On Magic Realism in Film’.32 Although the discussion here concerns a genre other than the novel, the ‘very provisional hypothesis’ Jameson advances when contrasting magic realism with postmodern nostalgia ﬁlm suggests a pos- sible methodology for understanding the stylistic particularities and innov- ations of the postcolonial novel. What Jameson proposes is the possibility of considering magic realism as **‘a formal mode** . . . **constituently dependent on a type of historical raw material in which disjunction is structurally present’, a mode where content betrays the overlap or the coexistence of precapitalist with nascent capitalist or technological features. In such a view . . . the organizing category** of magic realist ﬁlm . . . **is one of modes of production, and in particular, of a mode of production still locked in conﬂict with traces of the older mode** . . . [T]he articulated superposition of whole layers of the past within the present (Indian or pre-Columbian realities, the colonial era . . .) is the formal precondition for the emergence of this new narrative style.3

#### And here’s more evidence

**\*\*(cap only)\*\***

Parry 6(Benita Parry, Professor at Warwick University. Her books are Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination (1972), republished with a new preface by Verso 1998, Conrad and Imperialism: Ideological Boundaries and Visionary Frontiers (1984) and Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique (2004). She is the author of journal articles and essays on Edward Said, South African writing, Tayeb Salih, the Institutional- isation of Postcolonial Studies.

"The Presence of the Past in Peripheral Modernities." *Beyond the Black Atlantic: Relocating Modernization and Technology*. Ed. Walter Goebel. London: Routledge, 2006. Pgs 19-20)//bp

Perry Anderson has argued that ‘**Marx’s own conception of the historical time of the capitalist mode of production** . . . **was of a complex and diﬀer- ential temporality, in which** episodes or **eras were discontinuous from each other**, and heterogeneous within themselves.’1 Although Anderson does not press **this** usage, his observation **is especially pertinent to the advent of capitalism in the colonial worlds where**, as Lenin and Trotsky observed in their theory of combined and uneven development, **socio-economic condi- tions pertaining to pre-, nascent and ‘classical’ capitalism coexisted and overlapped**. Without overlooking that **even in contemporary Europe residual traces of archaic ideologies and customs remain,** or that the sophisticated capital cities are contemporaneous with antiquated but still- functioning peasant societies – about which John Berger has written with empathy and critical distance in Pig Earth – **the ‘simultaneity of the non- simultaneous’ was structural to colonized societies and continues to be so in post-independence nation-states.** For here **vast rural populations living in village communities provided and continue to provide the material ground for the persistence of earlier social practices and older psychic dispositions.** Moreover, as Mahmood Mamdani, writing about Sub-Saharan Africa, points out, **the colonial state was deliberately deferential toward traditional forms and outlooks, encouraging the survival of ethnically based local power,** ‘tribal’ divisions and those indigenous cultural habits deemed con- ducive to promoting social stasis.2 **At the same time the architects of coloni- alism** cynically **blamed these very modes for perpetuating backwardness,** and, **while boasting an instrumental purpose in developing the wasted and underused material resources** of the pre-industrial **world in the cause of international progress,** and claiming an ordained mission to elevate the minds and souls of its benighted peoples, **they devised plans to compel the plentiful supply of cheap labour into the production of raw materials required for metropolitan modernization. This entailed imposing aspects of capitalism’s productive methods,** selectively initiating modernizing projects useful to their rule, and allowing a small elite a limited access to education. **Together these policies produced a** lower **administrative stratum**, facilitated suﬃcient social mobility to incline the beneﬁciaries toward complicity with the rulers, **and ensured the retardation of the non-capitalist zones.** This is not to say that colonial regimes were able to control economic development, stem urbanization or prevent proletarianization, since calculated strategies imploded under the impact of capitalism’s own dynamics. Nor were they able to contain the social agency of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie or the populace as new modes of production generated new social relation- ships and altered forms of consciousness. In this sense **anti-colonialism expressed the determination of colonial populations to possess a temporal condition into which they had been thrust by the penetration of capitalism and which colonialism sought to withhold.** In their representations of the colonial project, **the imperial nations had cast themselves as the only creators and inhabitants of modern times, and therefore as donors or exporters of material modernization, social enlightenment and moral progress to the** retarded and **dependent peoples of Africa, Asia and South America.** This conceited account of the imperial centres as constituting the normative temporality, prompted the anthro- pologist Johannes Fabian in the 1980s to address the scandal of denying coevalness, or the sharing of the same time, to the worlds beyond the technically advanced metropoles: The expansive, aggressive and oppressive societies which we collectively and inaccurately call the West needed Space to occupy. More pro- foundly and problematically, they required Time to accommodate the scheme of a one-way history: progress, development, modernity (and their negative mirror images: stagnation, underdevelopment, tradition). In short, geopolitics has its ideological foundations in chronopolitics.3

#### The notion that the Zong massacres are solely related to the black Atlantic are false- specifically they are relevant to the hyperfinancialized capitalistic system

**Lambert 08**-professor of geography at the university at the University of London

(“An Atlantic world – modernity, colonialism and slavery”, 2008 SAGE Publications 10.1177/1474474007087503)//bp

#### In 1781, the Liverpool slave ship, *Zong*, was travelling from the west coast of Africa to the Caribbean on the usual business of trafficking in captive lives. Facing rising levels of mortality amongst his human cargo, the ship’s captain, Luke Collingwood, responded by ordering 133 enslaved people to be thrown overboard to their deaths and thereby ensure that the ship’s owners, the Gregson family, would be able to claim compensation for property lost at sea through their insurance policy. Collingwood’s extraordinarily callous decision was no aberration, rather it was an act underwritten by a culture and system of speculative capitalism. As a result, the *Zong* atrocity and its representations are ‘central not only to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the political and cultural archives of the black Atlantic but to the history of modern capital, ethics, and time consciousness’.6 This is the central claim of Ian Baucom’s *Spectres of the Atlantic*, a provocative, staggeringly ambitious, if somewhat obfuscatory, book. The first part of *Spectres of the Atlantic* is concerned with enumerating and accounting for the speculative culture that permitted Collingwood’s actions. The argument is underwritten by two key texts: Walter Benjamin’s *The arcades project* and Giovanni Arrighi’s *The long twentieth century*: Arrighi’s Braudelian analysis of capital’s long and short *durées* requires something like Benjamin’s cultural materialism if it is to reveal the ways in which the oscillating forms of capital inform and are informed by the shifting phenomenologies and recycled generic protocols of cultural practice.7 Arrighi’s schema provides the grounds for historicizing the sort of cultural artefacts that interested Benjamin, whilst Benjamin’s aesthetic and cultural analysis is used as a method for exploring Arrighi’s cycles of accumulation. From Benjamin, Baucom borrows two ideas: that particular phases in capitalism’s history were secured by different theories and forms of knowledge, and what he terms a ‘repetocentric philosophy of history’.8 Hence, Baucom explains, the 17th-century genre of allegory was repeated and intensified in the 19th century, which helped to secure the commodity capital for which Benjamin saw evidence in the warehouses and shop windows of Paris. Yet, Baucom asks, what should we make of the 18th century interruption? His answer is to turn to an ‘oscillatory history of capital’ derived from Arrighi’s account of four long cycles of accumulation from the 15th century to the present, each dominated by a different hegemonic capital state.9 For Arrighi, periods of commodity capital accumulation precede and follow periods of financial capital accumulation, but what interests Baucom are the transitional moments *between* these cycles. In these hyperfinancialized moments, ‘capital accumulation proceeds virtually exclusively through “financial deals”’ and they are dominated by the quarters of high finance.10 The *Zong* massacre corresponds to one of these hyperfinancialized moments: the transitional phase between the Dutch and British cycles of accumulation from the 1750s to 1780s in which a system of maritime insurance underwrote Collingwood’s actions and the entire system of Atlantic slavery. Moreover, in a further elaboration of a ‘repetocentric’ philosophy of history, Baucom argues that the hyperfinancialized phase of ‘late capitalism’ not only resembles the moment in which the *Zong* sailed, but also ‘in a fully Benjaminian sense, inherits its nonimmediate past by intensifying it, by “perfecting” its cultural protocols, “practicalizing” its epistemology, realizing its phenomenology as the cultural logic “of the entire social-material world”’.11 These two hyperfinancialized moments – the mid-to-late 18th century and the present – mark the beginning and end of what Baucom terms the ‘long twentieth century’. In so doing, he departs from Arrighi’s deployment of this as a collective description of capital’s 15th-to-20th-century *longue durée*, as well as his more specific use of it to designate the fourth, American cycle from the 1860s to the present. Rather, Baucom’s ‘long twentieth century’ stretches from the mid-18th century to the present, conjoining the British and American cycles in a single sequence of Atlantic accumulation whose key sites include today’s global cities of London and New York, as well as such circum-Atlantic ports and slave-trading posts as Liverpool, Bridgetown and Cape Coast. The rape of AFRICA and its people jump started the current mode of Capitalism in its exploitation of the oppressed. The dehumanization of damaged, laboring Black Bodies is rooted in capitalism.

Wilderson 5’- Professor Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley. (Frank Wilderson, III, Gramsci’s Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society?, We Write January 2005, Pg. 6)

Civil Death in Civil Society, Capital was kick-started by the rape of the African continent. This phenomenon is central to neither Gramsci nor Marx. The theoretical importance of emphasizing this in the early 21st century is two-fold: First, “the socio-political order of the New World” (Spillers 1987: 67) was kick-started by approaching a particular body (a Black body) with direct relations of force, not by approaching a White body with variable capital. Thus, one could say that slavery—the “accumulation” of Black bodies regardless of their utility as laborers (Hartman; Johnson) through an idiom of despotic power (Patterson)—is closer to capital's primal desire than is waged oppression—the “exploitation” of unraced bodies (Marx, Lenin, Gramsci) that labor through an idiom of rational/symbolic (the wage) power: A relation of terror as opposed to a relation of hegemony.3 Secondly, today, late capital is imposing a renaissance of this original desire, direct relations of force (the prison industrial complex), the despotism of the unwaged relation: and this Renaissance of slavery has, once again, as its structuring image in libidinal economy, and its primary target in political economy, the Black body.

#### The act of telling these untold stories only worsens the Capitalist System in America under the current grammar uses in today’s Civil Society

Wilderson 5’- Professor Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley. (Frank Wilderson, III, Gramsci’s Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society?, We Write January 2005, Pg. 6-7)

The value of reintroducing the “unthought” category of the slave, by way of noting the absence of the Black subject, lies in the Black subject’s potential for extending the demand placed on state/capital formations because its reintroduction into the discourse expands the intensity of the antagonism. In other words, the slave makes a demand, which is in excess of the demand made by the worker. The worker demands that productivity be fair and democratic (Gramsci's new hegemony, Lenin's dictatorship of the proletariat), the slave, on the other hand, demands that production stop; stop without recourse to its ultimate democratization. Work is not an organic principle for the slave. The absence of Black subjectivity from the crux of marxist discourse is symptomatic of the discourse's inability to cope with the possibility that the generative subject of capitalism, the Black body of the 15th and 16th centuries, and the generative subject that resolves late-capital's over-accumulation crisis, the Black (incarcerated) body of the 20th and 21st centuries, do not reify the basic categories which structure marxist conflict: the categories of work, production, exploitation, historical self-awareness and, above all, hegemony. If, by way of the Black subject, we consider the underlying grammar of the question What does it mean to be free? that grammar being the question What does it mean to suffer? then we come up against a grammar of suffering not only in excess of any semiotics of exploitation, but a grammar of suffering beyond signification itself, a suffering that cannot be spoken because the gratuitous terror of White supremacy is as much contingent upon the irrationality of White fantasies and shared pleasures as it is upon a logic—the logic of capital. It extends beyond texualization. When talking about this terror, Cornel West uses the term “black invisibility and namelessness” to designate, at the level of ontology, what we are calling a scandal at the level of discourse.

#### We need to modify the grammar around the Slave and Black Body-the current grammar perpetuates the Antagonism

Wilderson 5’- Professor Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley. (Frank Wilderson, III, Gramsci’s Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society?, We Write January 2005, Pg. 7)

Thus, the Black subject position in America is an antagonism, a demand that can not be satisfied through a transfer of ownership/organization of existing rubrics; whereas the Gramscian subject, the worker, represents a demand that can indeed be satisfied by way of a successful War of Position, which brings about the end of exploitation. The worker calls into question the legitimacy of productive practices, the slave calls into question the legitimacy of productivity itself. From the positionality of the worker the question, What does it mean to be free? is raised. But the question hides the process by which the discourse assumes a hidden grammar which has already posed and answered the question, What does it mean to suffer? And that grammar is organized around the categories of exploitation (unfair labor relations or wage slavery). Thus, exploitation (wage slavery) is the only category of oppression which concerns Gramsci: society, Western society, thrives on the exploitation of the Gramscian subject. Full stop. Again, this is inadequate, because it would call White supremacy "racism" and articulate it as a derivative phenomenon of the capitalist matrix, rather than incorporating White supremacy as a matrix constituent to the base, if not the base itself.

### Black fem links

#### The stories of the Middle Passage are told in the male perspective only. This hides the representations of a black feminist perspective.

Hartman 8 (Saidiya Hartman. Professor at Columbia University specializing in African American Literature. Venus in two acts. June 2008)

What else is there to know? Hers is the same fate as every other Black Venus: no one ¶ remembered her name or recorded the things she said, or observed that she refused to say ¶ anything at all.2Hers is an untimely story told by a failed witness. It would be centuries before ¶ she would be allowed to “try her tongue.”3¶ I could say after a famous philosopher that what we know of Venus in her many guises ¶ amounts to “little more than a register of her encounter with power” and that it provides “a ¶ meager sketch of her existence.”4An act of chance or disaster produced a divergence or an ¶ aberration from the expected and usual course of invisibility and catapulted her from the ¶ underground to the surface of discourse. We stumble upon her in exorbitant circumstances ¶ that yield no picture of the everyday life, no pathway to her thoughts, no glimpse of the vulnerability of her face or of what looking at such a face might demand. We only know what ¶ can be extrapolated from an analysis of the ledger or borrowed from the world of her captors ¶ and masters and applied to her. Yet the exorbitant must be rendered exemplary or typical in ¶ order that her life provides a window onto the lives of the enslaved in general.¶ One cannot ask, “Who is Venus?” because it would be impossible to answer such a question. There are hundreds of thousands of other girls who share her circumstances and these ¶ circumstances have generated few stories. And the stories that exist are not about them, but ¶ rather about the violence, excess, mendacity, and reason that seized hold of their lives, transformed them into commodities and corpses, and identified them with names tossed-off as ¶ insults and crass jokes. The archive is, in this case, a death sentence, a tomb, a display of the ¶ violated body, an inventory of property, a medical treatise on gonorrhea, a few lines about a ¶ whore’s life, an asterisk in the grand narrative of history. Given this, “it is doubtless impossible ¶ to ever grasp [these lives] again in themselves, as they might have been ‘in a free state.’ ”5

#### The gratuitous violence towards black female slaved cannot be explained because all historical evidence comes from the male perspective. By only hearing the stories of male slaves, we continuously oppress the female slaves, preventing their stories from being told.

Hartman 8 (Saidiya Hartman. Professor at Columbia University specializing in African American Literature. Venus in two acts. June 2008)

Scandal and excess inundate the archive: the raw numbers of the mortality account, the strategic evasion and indirection of the captain’s log, the florid and sentimental letters dispatched ¶ from slave ports by homesick merchants, the incantatory stories of shocking violence penned ¶ by abolitionists, the fascinated eyewitness reports of mercenary soldiers eager to divulge “what ¶ decency forbids [them] to disclose,” and the rituals of torture, the beatings, hangings, and ¶ amputations enshrined as law. The libidinal investment in violence is everywhere apparent in ¶ the documents, statements and institutions that decide our knowledge of the past. What has ¶ been said and what can be said about Venus take for grantedthe traffic between fact, fantasy, ¶ desire, and violence.¶ Confirmations of this abound. Let us begin with James Barbot, the captain of the Albion ¶ Frigate, who attested to the coincidence of the pleasures afforded in the space of death. It was ¶ difficult to exercise sexual restraint on the slave ship, Barbot confessed, because the “young ¶ sprightly maidens, full of jollity and good humor, afforded an abundance of recreation.”19¶ Falconbridge seconds this, amplifying the slippage between victims and sweethearts, ¶ acts of love and brutal excesses: “On board some ships, the common sailors are allowed to ¶ have intercourse with such of the black women whose consent they can procure. And some ¶ of them have been known to take the inconstancy of their paramours so much to heart, as to leap overboard and drown themselves.” Only Olaudah Equiano depicts the habitual violence ¶ of the slave ship without recourse to the language of romance: “It was almost a common ¶ practice with our clerks and other whites, to commit violent depredations on the chastity of ¶ the female slaves. . . . I have known our mates to commit these acts most shamefully, to the ¶ disgrace, not of Christians only, but of men. I have even known them [to] gratify their brutal ¶ passion with females not ten years old; and these abominations some of them practiced to such ¶ scandalous excess, that one of our captains discharged the mate and others on that account” ¶ (emphasis added).20

#### Changing the language of the stories of slavery is the only way to tell the stories of the black female slaves. By changing the language, we allow these stories to be told.

Hartman 8 (Saidiya Hartman. Professor at Columbia University specializing in African American Literature. Venus in two acts. June 2008)

Infelicitous speech, obscene utterances, and perilous commands give birth to the characters we stumble upon in the archive. Given the condition in which we find them, the only ¶ certainty is that we will lose them again, that they will expire or elude our grasp or collapse ¶ under the pressure of inquiry. This is the only fact about Venus of which we can be sure. So is it possible to reiterate her name and to tell a story about degraded matter and dishonored life ¶ that doesn’t delight and titillate, but instead ventures toward another mode of writing?¶ If it is no longer sufficient to expose the scandal, then how might it be possible to generate ¶ a different set of descriptions from this archive? To imagine what could have been? To envision a free state from this order of statements? The dangers entailed in this endeavor cannot ¶ be bracketed or avoided because of the inevitability of the reproduction of such scenes of ¶ violence, which define the state of blackness and the life of the ex-slave. To the contrary, these ¶ dangers are situated at the heart of my work, both in the stories I have chosen to tell and in ¶ those that I have avoided.¶ Here I’d like to return to a story that I preferred not to tell or was unable to tell in Lose ¶ Your Mother. It is a story about Venus, the other girl who died aboard the Recovery and to ¶ whom I only made a passing reference.

#### The extreme dehumanization of female slaves was what pushed the verdicts of “not guilty” in murder cases where the White killed the Black female.

Hartman ’08

(Saidiya Hartman. Professor at Columbia University specializing in African American Literature. Venus in two acts. June 2008)

Two girls died on board the Recovery. The captain, John Kimber, was indicted for having ¶ “feloniously, wickedly and with malice aforethought, beaten and tortured a female slave, so as ¶ to cause her death: and he was again indicted for having caused the death of another female ¶ slave.”23¶ On 7 June 1792, Mr. Pigot, the counsel for the prisoner, bellowed the name Venus in his ¶ cross-examination of the surgeon Thomas Dowling, one of the two witnesses from the crew of ¶ the ship who testified that they had seen Captain John Kimber murder a Negro girl. According ¶ to the surgeon’s testimony, the captain flogged her repeatedly with a whip and “successively ¶ for several days, very severely” causing her death.24¶ Venus was not that Negro girl but another one who died at the hands of the captain and ¶ who was mentioned briefly during the trial. Pigot questioned the surgeon about her:¶ Question: Was there not a girl bought of [the trader] Jackamachree, who was in the same state as ¶ the girl we have been talking of?¶ Answer: I do not know.¶ Question: Was there not a girl of the name of Venus?¶ Answer: There was.¶ Question: Was she not in the same state?¶ Answer: Not that I know of. There was another girl on board the Recovery . . . whom they named Venus, and she ¶ too had the pox.”26¶ When the captain was acquitted for the murder of the first girl, he was also found not ¶ guilty of the second charge. “As there was no evidence to support the second indictment, than ¶ what supported the first, the jury also acquitted the prisoner on it.”27¶ These were the only words spoken of Venus during the trial.

#### The gratuitous violence committed against females is only perpetuated by the invisibility of the black female perspective.

Hartman 8 (Saidiya Hartman. Professor at Columbia University specializing in African American Literature. Venus in two acts. June 2008)

If it is not possible to undo the violence that inaugurates the sparse record of a girl’s life or ¶ remedy her anonymity with a name or translate the commodity’s speech, then to what end ¶ does one tell such stories? How and why does one write a history of violence? Why revisit the ¶ event or the nonevent of a girl’s death?¶ The archive of slavery rests upon a founding violence. This violence determines, regulates ¶ and organizes the kinds of statements that can be made about slavery and as well it creates ¶ subjects and objects of power.33The archive yields no exhaustive account of the girl’s life, but ¶ catalogues the statements that licensed her death. All the rest is a kind of fiction: sprightly ¶ maiden, sulky bitch, Venus, girl. The economy of theft and the power over life, which defined ¶ the slave trade, fabricated commodities and corpses. But cargo, inert masses, and things don’t ¶ lend themselves to representation, at least not easily?¶ In Lose Your Mother I attempted to foreground the experience of the enslaved by tracing ¶ the itinerary of a disappearance and by narrating stories which are impossible to tell. The goal ¶ was to expose and exploit the incommensurability between the experience of the enslaved and ¶ the fictions of history, by which I mean the requirements of narrative, the stuff of subjects ¶ and plots and ends.¶ And how does one tell impossible stories? Stories about girls bearing names that deface ¶ and disfigure, about the words exchanged between shipmates that never acquired any standing in the law and that failed to be recorded in the archive, about the appeals, prayers and ¶ secrets never uttered because no one was there to receive them? The furtive communication¶ that might have passed between two girls, but which no one among the crew observed or ¶ reported affirms what we already know to be true: The archive is inseparable from the play of power that murdered Venus and her shipmate and exonerated the captain. And this knowledge ¶ brings us no closer to an understanding of the lives of two captive girls or the violence that ¶ destroyed them and named the ruin: Venus. Nor can it explain why at this late date we still ¶ want to write stories about them.

#### By telling the stories from the female perspective, we can access the resistance from a contested point of view. We can begin to speak about the unrecoverable past; what could have been, what might have been.

Hartman 8 (Saidiya Hartman. Professor at Columbia University specializing in African American Literature. Venus in two acts. June 2008)

The intention here isn’t anything as miraculous as recovering the lives of the enslaved or¶ redeeming the dead, but rather laboring to paint as full a picture of the lives of the captives¶ as possible. This double gesture can be described as straining against the limits of the archive¶ to write a cultural history of the captive, and, at the same time, enacting the impossibility of¶ representing the lives of the captives precisely through the process of narration.¶ The method guiding this writing practice is best described as critical fabulation. “Fabula”¶ denotes the basic elements of story, the building blocks of the narrative. A fabula, according¶ to Mieke Bal, is “a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused and¶ experienced by actors. An event is a transition from one state to another. Actors are agents¶ that perform actions. (They are not necessarily human.) To act is to cause or experience and¶ event.”35¶ By playing with and rearranging the basic elements of the story, by re-presenting the¶ sequence of events in divergent stories and from contested points of view, I have attempted¶ to jeopardize the status of the event, to displace the received or authorized account, and to¶ imagine what might have happened or might have been said or might have been done. By¶ throwing into crisis “what happened when” and by exploiting the “transparency of sources” as¶ fictions of history, I wanted to make visible the production of disposable lives (in the Atlantic¶ slave trade and, as well, in the discipline of history), to describe “the resistance of the object,”¶ if only by first imagining it, and to listen for the mutters and oaths and cries of the commodity.¶ By flattening the levels of narrative discourse and confusing narrator and speakers, I hoped to¶ illuminate the contested character of history, narrative, event, and fact, to topple the hierarchy¶ of discourse, and to engulf authorized speech in the clash of voices. The outcome of this¶ method is a “recombinant narrative,” which “loops the strands” of incommensurate accounts¶ and which weaves present, past, and future in retelling the girl’s story and in narrating the¶ time of slavery as our present.37¶ Narrative restraint, the refusal to fill in the gaps and provide closure, is a requirement¶ of this method, as is the imperative to respect black noise—the shrieks, the moans, the nonsense,¶ and the opacity, which are always in excess of legibility and of the law and which hint¶ at and embody aspirations that are wildly utopian, derelict to capitalism, and antithetical to¶ its attendant discourse of Man.38¶ The intent of this practice is not to give voice to the slave, but rather to imagine what¶ cannot be verified, a realm of experience which is situated between two zones of death—social¶ and corporeal death—and to reckon with the precarious lives which are visible only in the¶ moment of their disappearance. It is an impossible writing which attempts to say that which¶ resists being said (since dead girls are unable to speak). It is a history of an unrecoverable past;¶ it is a narrative of what might have been or could have been; it is a history written with and¶ against the archive.

#### Focusing solely on the Middle Passage ignores the Caribbean and South American routes, killing the understanding of the subject

Routledge 6 (Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio. Beyond the Black Atlantic Relocating modernization and technology. pg. 3-4)

In *The Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy has alerted us **to a non-western experience¶ of modernization, which was induced by the traumatic suffering of the¶ Middle Passage** as a cataclysmic instance of dislocation and a sudden shift¶ in the horizon of expectations. The monologic façade, and also the hidden¶ fissures in the western constructions of modernity, has made Gilroy’s narrative¶ overdue. Nevertheless, we find in *The Black Atlantic* a tendency to highlight¶ the African-American experiences of dislocation while neglecting¶ *Introduction* 3**¶ unique African experiences of emergency and of emergence, which have¶ allowed and allow for a number of local articulations of modernization and¶ modernity and for a more pronounced role of emerging nationalities than¶ the diaspora is generally likely or able to summon.** In this volume these¶ dimensions are – again with reference to South Africa – explored by Elleke¶ Boehmer and Laura Chrisman. They insist on local anachronisms, on¶ national and ethnic specificity, and do not follow Appadurai – or Hardt/¶ Negri for that matter – in his belief that nationalism is on its last legs.¶ Instead, they reconsider the interplay of nationalist and transnational perspectives,¶ emphasizing the importance of local nationalist strategies over¶ that of transnational networks. Asian explorations of modernization are¶ also beyond the Atlantic scope of Gilroy’s narrative, though, as Boehmer¶ shows, **the political and cultural strategies of self-fashioning were sometimes¶ quite similar to the black experience, and the technological catalysts of¶ modernization – e.g. ships, planes, communications technology – were utilized¶ in similar ways.** Cross-cultural and national impulses seem to coexist in¶ Indian and South African postcolonial voices and to belie Gilroy’s exclusive¶ focus on transnational agendas. As Laura Chrisman has it, the nation ‘supplies¶ the only effective means for interpreting the category of black – or any¶ – transnationality’. Chrisman introduces the idea of a ‘critical black transnationalism’¶ as a site of resistance to ‘indicate a transnational dynamic that¶ is far more complicated’ than Gilroy’s notion of transnationalism seems to¶ allow for.7¶ This volume moves beyond Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic* canvas in more than¶ one direction: **by specifying the heterogeneity of Black Atlantic experiences,¶ whether national or transnational, by looking beyond the Atlantic to the¶ Indian ocean and the Indian diaspora** (Boehmer, Ghosh-Schellhorn,¶ Baucom, Goebel) **and by emphasizing exchanges and parallel developments¶ between ‘black’ and ‘white’ cultural networks** (Shapiro, Viswanathan). Gilroy’s¶ **narrative is partly anticipated by and partly dovetails with ideas of transatlantic¶ cultural mediation** in the Caribbean sphere,8 for example with¶ Wilson Harris’s and Alejo Carpentier’s concepts of creolization and *mestizaje¶* and of (baroque) cultural syncretisms, while on the other hand taking¶ an ethnocentrist turn which is not generally supported by investigations into¶ Caribbean cultures or, for that matter, into European-African exchanges in¶ the early modern world or in the history of ideas.9 Gilroy’s **narrative, which¶ does not sufficiently acknowledge Caribbean and South American precursors,¶ is furthermore called in question** by V.S. Naipaul’s sceptical, **even¶ pessimistic interpretation of transculturalism, modernization and transatlantic¶ exchange**. With the fragmentary autobiographical form of his¶ novels and travelogues, Naipaul subverts not only the concept of the unified¶ subject of the western enlightenment but also the very basis for ideas of the¶

#### Focus on the technology of the Middle Passage is necessary to fully understand the commodification of slaves

Routledge 6 (Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio. Beyond the Black Atlantic Relocating modernization and technology. pg. 4-5)

4 *Introduction¶* transnational and of successful hybridization (Goebel). Boehmer and¶ Ghosh-Schellhorn, on the other hand, provide more optimistic inroads to¶ the Indian diaspora. They emphasize specific forms and speeds of Indian¶ diasporan modernization which are not easily synchronized with Gilroy’s¶ panorama, while adding a dynamic dimension to the modelling of diasporan¶ identity within the World Wide Web. Saskia Schabio engages Pauline¶ Melville’s short stories in a dialogue with Edouard Glissant’s *Caribbean¶ Discourse* and Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic*. While Glissant in his later work develops¶ Caribbeanness into a more transnational vision and relegates engagement¶ to the cultural sphere, Melville’s approach recalls Glissant’s earlier concept¶ of a dynamic nationalism as a political necessity which mediates between¶ radical transnationalism and traditional concepts of the nation. A more¶ sceptical view of transnational agendas is voiced in her uses of the Caribbean¶ trickster-god Anancy, because such gestures – an intellectual trickster¶ strategy – evade the intricacies of the ‘glocal’ Caribbean situation.¶ Forms of marginalization and stories of penetration by the imperial¶ invader and his technologies have been the staple themes of the canonized¶ classics of postcolonial literature, such as Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness¶* or Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*. **The rape of native cultures, their¶ penetration by ship, train or boat, make up the gendered tales of modernization,¶ of technological mastery and its usually baleful human effects.**10¶ One of the topics of this collection is that such tales have themselves to be¶ continually modernized and revised in order to come to terms with complex¶ processes of exchange between Self and Other, transitional modes of identity¶ formation and advanced appropriations of technologies which move¶ deftly beyond any kind of anti-technological nostalgia. This volume thus¶ aims to add complexity to the stereotypical depiction of technology and¶ modernization as bogeymen in the postcolonial sphere by elucidating how¶ they are assimilated, transformed, and subverted at a distance from western¶ origins**. Such re-articulations and translations of technology and modernization¶ are not only enacted between centre and periphery, but also within¶ the very periphery itself when an expansionist capitalism and a predatory¶ colonialism together propel the periphery toward the modern and inflict¶ upon it the internal incongruities that generally accompany processes of¶ modernization. The translation of modernities and the development of¶ modernist vocabularies can be difficult and even painful on the periphery,¶ because experiencing new horizons of expectation and new transformations¶ of the self often leads to social alienation and cultural dissociation.¶** Modernization’s main catalyst is, of course, technology, as indicated by¶ Gilroy in his key metaphor of the ship. **Technology, however, does not¶ merely trigger states of emergency but is actively utilized, transformed¶ and locally reinterpreted in microhistories**, as shown in Ian Baucom’s¶ *Introduction* 5¶ investigation of reciprocal modernizations in postcolonial townships and¶ shanty towns. Speeds of technological innovation will usually vary and¶ lead to asynchronous developments even in one locality (Parry, Boehmer,¶ Baucom).¶ A total inversion of Gilroy’s concept of sudden transatlantic change, as¶ presented in his narrative of suffering, is suggested by Stephen Shapiro, who¶ retells the story of modernization, of the emergence of capitalism and of¶ cultural elites from an African viewpoint. ¶

#### Western ideals are being overtaken by other places

Routledge 6 (Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio. Beyond the Black Atlantic Relocating modernization and technology. pg. 1-2)

**The last surviving great narrative of the West may be the idea of inescapable,**¶ **ubiquitous globalization**, which is largely based upon technological¶ modernization. **It survives** even **though** each **day a number of minorities**¶ **gain public attention**, for instance, by claiming geographical terrain from¶ the deforestation industry in many parts of the world; it survives, even¶ though neo-imperial acts of the main western superpower continually get¶ bogged down because of a stunning lack of intercultural imagination and¶ competence, and **it survives even though the agents of technologically and**¶ **economically wielded power are being replaced and the crossroads of monetary**¶ **and economic networks are moving from the Atlantic to the Pacific.**¶ Western hubris may partly explain the longevity the idea of unidirectional¶ globalization has enjoyed, but its persistence is surely equally due to the¶ effects of economic supremacy and international commodification. Yet,¶ when the economic and technological supremacy of the world’s superpowers¶ comes into question, **the idea of inescapable globalization within a**¶ **homogeneous world market may finally be on its way out**. Surely **globalization**¶ **loses** some of its **momentum when western economies need to be**¶ **supported by tariffs and taxes that undermine the very ideology of a liberal**¶ **capitalist market**; and i**t loses even more when the West cannot prevent**¶ many **so-called ‘developing’ countries from becoming increasingly impoverished,**¶ **in spite of** (some believe because of) **all the counsel offered by the**¶ **World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund.** If we¶ are, indeed, today witnessing a crisis of the idea of globalization, it is in¶ more than one sense overdue, since the very basis for the story of globalization¶ – a faith in technological progress and continual enlightenment – has¶ effectively been deconstructed within the postcolonial domain, along with¶ simplified ideas of the technical impotence of the periphery. **The fact that**¶ **the remaining western superpower is economically overreaching itself in**¶ **order to afford an intimidating display of military power**, that it is **neglecting**¶ **inner stability and the happiness and welfare of its own citizens for the** ¶ **phantasm of world hegemony, that, finally, it is losing world markets to**¶ **emerging Asian powers, all indicates a deep crisis of unidirectional western**¶ **ideas of progress and globalization.**¶

#### The West is not the sole point of modernity- their representations are exclusionary

Routledge 6 (Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio. Beyond the Black Atlantic Relocating modernization and technology. pg. 1-2)

If we are to move beyond the linear account of social and economic¶ processes presumed by traditional stories of globalization, we need to¶ rethink modernization by re-envisaging its technological parameters, the¶ role of accelerated international capitalism and what Arjun Appadurai has¶ called the growing importance of diasporic public spheres and deterritorialized¶ agencies. **Modernization and its catalyst technology cannot merely be**¶ **thought of as** unified forces developing along linear trajectories, **leading**¶ **both western and non-western cultures to speed into a vortex of globalization**.¶ Instead, **both modernization and its technologies have been transformed**¶ **more than once, even in the West itself.** We see this in the way¶ some western nations have moved from envisioning ever-accelerating social¶ and economic progress to slowly acknowledging the limits of growth and¶ the ecological costs of modernization. We also see it in a gradual movement¶ from ‘hard’ concepts of material technology to more intricate ‘soft’ versions¶ of mediascapes and semiospheres. And **we** finally **see it in the diversification**¶ **and translation of western cultures themselves by diasporan subversions**¶ **and interventions.** In this volume, Benita Parry investigates the interplay¶ between the way in which developments in colonial locations are overdetermined¶ by the ‘normative temporalities’ of the imperial centres on the¶ one hand and by the activating of the resources of indigenous knowledge¶ for a liveable future on the other. Parry concentrates on South African¶ novels as examples for the way in which **realities from radically different**¶ **moments of history are conjoined to evoke specific modernist sensibilities**¶ **of the periphery, which are based upon counter-memory and African**¶ **cognitive systems. Such an approach to cultural and literary phenomena**¶ **acknowledges that the West is not the sole agent or centre of modernization,**¶ **but is acted upon, affected and modified by developments elsewhere.**¶ European modernist art and literature, for example, was and is frequently¶ engaged, as it were, in debates on the darker aspects of modernization. In¶ its central aesthetic features – such as decentring, ambiguity, intermediality¶ and alienation – it is a product of the intercultural encounter and of the¶ decentring of western epistemology.1 And in the postcolonial sphere¶ western modernism is again inflected and translated from various vantage¶ points.2

#### Our view of middle passage affects modernization

Routledge 6 (Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio. Beyond the Black Atlantic Relocating modernization and technology. pg. 2-3)

This, however, does not mean that we could in any way speak¶ of a symmetrical dialogue about modernist aesthetics as envisioned by¶ Habermas, but rather of an antagonistic battle against a normative temporality¶ and an overpowering aesthetics which is supported and pushed by¶ international publishers.¶ For much of the twentieth century, modernization has been on trial for¶ 2 *Introduction¶* having exploited nature and deformed humanity,3 and many critics of¶ culture have accordingly questioned its founding assumptions. But **modernization¶ has always been a multiple and discontinuous process, producing¶ distinctions in the West between technologically advanced metropolitan¶ areas and ‘retarded’ rural areas – distinctions which in due course were¶ exported to the ‘developing’ nations. Today, modernization is again being¶ stripped of its monologic western ideological façade, which has continually¶ affronted the more peripheral cultures while puffing up the ‘centre’.** Hopes¶ are arising that even **the more subtle effects of technology may not be¶ permanent, including the make-up of man himself as he re-codes his world¶ and his own nature with the help of new media within proliferating and¶ intersecting public spheres, in a world in which**, according to Arjun¶ Appadurai, **modernity seems to be at large. Transformations of our understanding¶ of cultural evolution have helped us to re-articulate processes of¶ modernization along the more complex faultlines of class, gender, ethnicity,¶ and environment. While thus becoming more specific and less determinist,¶ the pervasive nature of modernization, its technological effects, and its¶ serviceability for neo-imperialist tendencies ought also to be taken into¶ account and, if possible, deconstructed on behalf of a truly cosmopolitan¶ world** – which must even tolerate nationalism and thus evade the pitfalls of¶ radical transnationalism, which often merely reflects ‘universalising myths¶ of U.S. benevolence’.4 Transnationalism may offer a happy outlook for the¶ postmodern centres of affluence and conspicuous consumption, but is¶ surely a contested concept for the peripheries, fighting, as it were, against¶ hegemonic pressures. As Benita Parry has pointed out, the ‘disavowal of¶ nationalism overlooks the distinction between imperial and anti-imperial¶ problematics’.5 Or, as Martin Jacques puts it, with reference to the US and¶ its transnational aspirations:¶ If the United States, as the sole superpower, wishes to reshape the¶ world, then, given that colonialism is no longer an option, undermining¶ the legitimacy of the nation-state becomes a central political task. The¶ body of arguments used to justify the occupation of Iraq is a classic¶ case in point.6¶

#### Only black Americans can represent authentic modernity.

Chrisman 6 (Laura, Black modernity, nationalism and transnationalism: The challenge of black South African poetry, Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio. Beyond the Black Atlantic Relocating modernization and technology. pg. 30-31.)

West African cultural scholar Manthia Diawara, like Masilela, grants the¶ black diaspora a progressive historical role in continental Africa. His *In¶ Search of Africa* account of his youth in Bamako contends that black Americans¶ taught him and other African youth of the 1960s how to achieve a properly¶ racial consciousness:¶ We dressed to resemble our black American heroes . . . slowly we¶ became aware of race in our daily relations with French people. We began to see racism where others before us would have seen colonialism¶ and class exploitation. Diawara revealingly goes on to argue that: [T]he black American civil rights struggle was the most advanced form¶ of black modernity, because it successfully deployed race to change¶ laws on the subject of belonging, citizenship, and national identity.¶ Blacks in Europe are modern only via Marxism or religion or a Eurocentric¶ version of humanism and universalism, while Africans and¶ Arabs form resistance cultures to modernity in the name of religion or¶ ethnic identity. Only black Americans have an authentic modernity, which serves as a culture to conquer America and the world.6¶ For these scholars, the black American diaspora functions as more than the¶ apex, or vanguard, of black cultural modernity. It also supplies them with a¶ liberal political and economic identity that they prefer to both nationalism¶ and Marxism. Their approved version of modernity includes the freedom¶ of the individual to compete and consume within global markets. Diawara criticizes nation-states as being, in effect, not modern enough for this¶ agenda: West African nations, he contends, are ‘antiquated because they¶ divided tribes, restricted commerce and culture in the region’. These state structures discourage ‘movement across frontiers, free enterprise, and competition’ (emphasis added). The polarization of black diasporic modernity (on the one hand), and¶ nationalism (on the other) can be traced to black British cultural theorist Stuart Hall as well as to Paul Gilroy. ‘Diaspora’, writes Stuart Hall,does not refer to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be¶ secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must return¶ at all costs. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing¶ and reproducing themselves anew through transformation and¶ differences. Paul Gilroy, as I have discussed elsewhere, intensifies the view that black diasporic consciousness and black nationalism are mutually exclusive impulses.

#### Affirming the black Atlantic alone excludes the views of other black violence; the visible display corrupts the representations of the aff.

Chrisman 6 (Laura, Black modernity, nationalism and transnationalism: The challenge of black South African poetry, Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio. Beyond the Black Atlantic Relocating modernization and technology. pg. 35-36.)

Notice here the simultaneity of black American political struggle – the¶ black panthers – with this African musical violence; this neatly condenses¶ both Motsapi’s pan-Africanist sentiments and his perception of the reciprocity¶ that should obtain between aesthetic and political practices. The¶ progressive musical universe he projects is one in which the boundaries that¶ separate diasporic metropole from African continent are blurred, but – and¶ this is crucial – not in a way that serves to recentre diasporic authority. If¶ anything, Motsapi tends to Africanize the metropole; Malombo’s tour of¶ ‘the tame jungles of the west’ allows them to ‘return’ ‘the dinka griots¶ to chicago’ while London’s black centre Brixton becomes a ‘village’ with¶ ‘Kwesi mtabaruka thundering fearless / As the brawling boars grunted in’.35 The grotesque imagery of musicians’ body parts suggests a newly constituted,¶ self-determining pan-African body; but it also underscores the¶ violent dislocations that Motsapi sees as an inescapable component of any¶ liberation project.¶ The desire to articulate a black transnationalism that cannot affirm either¶ naïve romanticism or vulgar commercialism leads Motsapi to interrogate¶ the visible display of blackness that his own poetry enacts. His awareness of¶ the global circuits of black minstrelsy produces a technique that seeks to¶ circumvent co-optation through self-consciously foregrounding the performativity¶ of his dialogues with other black artists.

#### The representation of modernity through the ‘black Atlantic’ excludes its link to the Indian Ocean that is key to the aff’s imagination

Boehmer 6 (Elleke, Professor of World Literature in English at the University of Oxford, and a Professorial Governing Body Fellow at Wolfson College, Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio, Failure to connect – resistant modernities at national crossroads: Solomon Plaatje and Mohandas Gandhi, pg. 49-50, Beyond the Black Atlantic: Relocating modernization and technology, Routledge, 2006)

Poised between tradition and modernity, anti-colonial resistance move- ments, in particular between Ireland and Bengal, were haunted by, in Benedict Anderson’s phrase, ‘spectres of comparison’ – influential political and cultural modalities – from elsewhere (remembering however that Anderson continues to give primacy to Europe-based nationalisms).7 As I have suggested elsewhere, such movements can therefore be said to have emerged not between self and other but amongst others.8 Despite their relative social and political isolation in their own countries, anti-colonial intel- lectuals and nationalists crucially shared class expectations and the experience of homologous educational pilgrimages with one another across colonial borders, as well as their access to communication networks. It thus became almost self-evident to them to draw on situations corresponding to their own for inspiration, solidarity, guidance, and support. Acts of cooper- ation, even if purely performative, could be of mutual benefit, especially where the opposition was seemingly so all-encompassing. As Aimé Césaire once observed in passing, the perception of anti-colonial movements oper- ating internationally, and in international touch with one another, gave indi- vidual resistance movements an inspiriting sense of collective power.9 It was a rhetorical device popular with the Irish nationalists Maud Gonne and Arthur Griffith, too, to refer to the oppressions under the Empire of peoples across the world, and to their undying spirit of resistance, in order to raise support for the cause of Irish freedom.10 As the British aristocrat and sup- porter of Egyptian nationalism, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, implied in his rousing poem ‘The Wind and the Whirlwind’, published in at least one nationalist paper in India as well as in Egypt, nationalist fervour against the Empire was a mighty force.11 It had the power to sweep from country to country around the world.¶ As will have become clear by this point, the picture of the cross-border interchange of anti-colonial and nationalist discourses and motifs which I have built up so far gives a more constellated, interactive, and dialogic picture of the colonial world and of peripheral modernities than has been recognized until recently. As does Lyn Innes in her History of Black and Asian Writing in Britain 1700–2000 with respect to cultural interaction within Britain, it frees such discourses from charges of parochialism and essential- ism.12 Certainly it allows us to pre-date the so-called hybrid constructions of identity and representations of modern selves which we conventionally designate postcolonial, against the grain, or interdiscursive, to years sig- nificantly prior to the conventional chronological cut-off year of 1947. Moreover, with reference to Gilroy, the interactive picture significantly complicates and expands the ‘black Atlantic’ basin as the crucible of inter- active black/non-white modernities. It requests that the notion of the out- ernational formation of modern identity should be transposed and perhaps adapted to include, for example, the Indian Ocean, and, with respect to this study at least, the Atlantic Ocean as linked to the Indian. (The latter would pertain also to Bengal-Ireland connections.) In this regard it is worth noting that complicated cross-nationalist channels of influence and support have continued to operate across the twentieth century with greater and lesser degrees of success. So, for example, IRA activity in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s and early 1970s was directly galvanized by the example of the Civil Rights Movement in the US, though with very different outcomes. And the IRA has in the past itself given acknowledged and unacknow- ledged support to the African National Congress and the PLO (certainly up to the late 1980s), as well as, more recently, to Colombian guerrillas and, allegedly, the Tamil Tigers.13

#### Caribbean discourse is key to understand the culture of black suffering and avoid structures of modernity.

Schabio 6 (Saskia, edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio, Ulysses and the shape-shifter: Caribbean modernity in Pauline Melville’s writings, pg. 88-89, Beyond the Black Atlantic: Relocating modernization and technology, Routledge, 2006)

Apart from invoking Fanon’s thoughts about modernity as a frame of interpretation, I would also like to read Melville’s writing in the light of Edouard Glissant’s Caribbean Discourse. While he develops a vision of the ‘world and the Caribbean in particular in terms of an intricate branching of communities, an infinite wandering across cultures’,33 he also emphasizes the importance of the ‘nation’ as an enabling frame of reference in the process of cultural self-liberation. It is in this spirit that Glissant describes¶ ‘universal identification with black suffering in the Caribbean ideology (or the poetics) of negritude’ as ‘diversion’ (p. 24) – a ‘trickster strategy’ (p. 23), a ‘response perhaps to the need, by relating to a common origin, to rediscover unity (equilibrium) beyond dispersion’ (p. 5). In a characteristic dialectical move, he considers this an acceptable but transitional strategy of escape, which, ultimately must ‘[authorize . . .] the necessary return to the point where our problems lay in wait for us’:34¶ We must return to the point from which we started. Diversion is not a useful ploy unless it is nourished by reversion: not a return to the longing for origins, to some immutable state of Being, but a return to the point of entanglement, from which we were forcefully turned away; that is where we must ultimately put to work the forces of creolization, or perish.35

#### Through the sole focus on the middle passage shows aff’s misunderstanding of modernity. To properly understand the imperialist workings of modernity we must look to the outer edges of imperialist metropolises.

Baucom 6 (Ian, Township modernism, Beyond the Black Atlantic, Edited by Walter Goebel and Saskia Schabio, pg. 66-67, Routledge, 2006)  
Schematically, then, for Benjamin the pre-modern is that which preserves the magic of distance in the objects it perceives and the modern is that which, while preserving the judgment of distance finds that distance cancelled or pierced. This, Benjamin suggests, was Baudelaire’s experience of the world, and his modern genius was not to lament but to force such an extinguishing of distance. The fugitive and the transitory may then be intense, but they cannot be auratic. They have been stripped of their magic. They fail to acknowledge us, refuse an organic awakening in our gaze. We regard them as the courtesan regards the things of her world, as the ‘data’ of a no-longer-inapproachable horizon of experience, as that which induces no true moment of recognition, only a weariness tinged with melancholy. This, for Benjamin, is Baudelairean modernity: a giant and crude diorama of life, a no-longer distant and magical horizon of experience, a fixated and detached way of regarding a set of impressions so obviously false they can only provide the useful pleasure of the obvious lie. And this, I want to suggest, is one of the ways in which ‘modernity’ renders itself globally visible on the fringes of the imperial metropolis (on the border of Fanon’s Algerian medina; at the edge of the abject neighborhoods of Ayi Kwei Armah’s urban postcolony; across the colour line of South Africa’s Sophiatown throughout the 1950s as the bulldozers of the apartheid state rolled in). This is the guise ‘modernity’ so frequently takes on the border of the township, native quarter, and shanty town. Which is, perhaps, another way of saying that it is to such spaces that we should look if we are to understand the untimely workings, imperial and post-imperial wanderings, and uncanny persistence of what, following the unlikely lead of Jameson, Habermas, and Appadurai, we might think of as an unfinished modernity, at large.

## Case

#### The rape of AFRICA and its people jump started the current mode of Capitalism in its exploitation of the oppressed. The dehumanization of damaged, laboring Black Bodies is rooted in capitalism.

Wilderson 5’- Professor Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley. (Frank Wilderson, III, Gramsci’s Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society?, We Write January 2005, Pg. 6)

Civil Death in Civil Society, Capital was kick-started by the rape of the African continent. This phenomenon is central to neither Gramsci nor Marx. The theoretical importance of emphasizing this in the early 21st century is two-fold: First, “the socio-political order of the New World” (Spillers 1987: 67) was kick-started by approaching a particular body (a Black body) with direct relations of force, not by approaching a White body with variable capital. Thus, one could say that slavery—the “accumulation” of Black bodies regardless of their utility as laborers (Hartman; Johnson) through an idiom of despotic power (Patterson)—is closer to capital's primal desire than is waged oppression—the “exploitation” of unraced bodies (Marx, Lenin, Gramsci) that labor through an idiom of rational/symbolic (the wage) power: A relation of terror as opposed to a relation of hegemony.3 Secondly, today, late capital is imposing a renaissance of this original desire, direct relations of force (the prison industrial complex), the despotism of the unwaged relation: and this Renaissance of slavery has, once again, as its structuring image in libidinal economy, and its primary target in political economy, the Black body.

#### The act of telling these untold stories only worsens the Capitalist System in America under the current grammar uses in today’s Civil Society

Wilderson 5’- Professor Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley. (Frank Wilderson, III, Gramsci’s Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society?, We Write January 2005, Pg. 6-7)

The value of reintroducing the “unthought” category of the slave, by way of noting the absence of the Black subject, lies in the Black subject’s potential for extending the demand placed on state/capital formations because its reintroduction into the discourse expands the intensity of the antagonism. In other words, the slave makes a demand, which is in excess of the demand made by the worker. The worker demands that productivity be fair and democratic (Gramsci's new hegemony, Lenin's dictatorship of the proletariat), the slave, on the other hand, demands that production stop; stop without recourse to its ultimate democratization. Work is not an organic principle for the slave. The absence of Black subjectivity from the crux of marxist discourse is symptomatic of the discourse's inability to cope with the possibility that the generative subject of capitalism, the Black body of the 15th and 16th centuries, and the generative subject that resolves late-capital's over-accumulation crisis, the Black (incarcerated) body of the 20th and 21st centuries, do not reify the basic categories which structure marxist conflict: the categories of work, production, exploitation, historical self-awareness and, above all, hegemony. If, by way of the Black subject, we consider the underlying grammar of the question What does it mean to be free? that grammar being the question What does it mean to suffer? then we come up against a grammar of suffering not only in excess of any semiotics of exploitation, but a grammar of suffering beyond signification itself, a suffering that cannot be spoken because the gratuitous terror of White supremacy is as much contingent upon the irrationality of White fantasies and shared pleasures as it is upon a logic—the logic of capital. It extends beyond texualization. When talking about this terror, Cornel West uses the term “black invisibility and namelessness” to designate, at the level of ontology, what we are calling a scandal at the level of discourse.

#### We need to modify the grammar around the Slave and Black Body-the current grammar perpetuates the Antagonism

Wilderson 5’- Professor Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley. (Frank Wilderson, III, Gramsci’s Black Marx: Whither the Slave in Civil Society?, We Write January 2005, Pg. 7)

Thus, the Black subject position in America is an antagonism, a demand that can not be satisfied through a transfer of ownership/organization of existing rubrics; whereas the Gramscian subject, the worker, represents a demand that can indeed be satisfied by way of a successful War of Position, which brings about the end of exploitation. The worker calls into question the legitimacy of productive practices, the slave calls into question the legitimacy of productivity itself. From the positionality of the worker the question, What does it mean to be free? is raised. But the question hides the process by which the discourse assumes a hidden grammar which has already posed and answered the question, What does it mean to suffer? And that grammar is organized around the categories of exploitation (unfair labor relations or wage slavery). Thus, exploitation (wage slavery) is the only category of oppression which concerns Gramsci: society, Western society, thrives on the exploitation of the Gramscian subject. Full stop. Again, this is inadequate, because it would call White supremacy "racism" and articulate it as a derivative phenomenon of the capitalist matrix, rather than incorporating White supremacy as a matrix constituent to the base, if not the base itself.